The Introduction and Growth of Christianity in Busoga 1891-1940. With particular reference to the roles of the Basoga Clergymen, Catechists and Chiefs.

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ABSTRACT

Christianity was first introduced in Busoga by the Baganda and European missionaries in 1891. For the first ten years, the missionaries ran into suspicion and sporadic opposition from the Basoga. However, with the growing awareness that Christianity could be used as a channel to new sources of power and influence, some of the Basoga increasingly embraced the new religion. The missionaries encouraged some of the newly "converted" Basoga to work as abasomesa or catechists. This meant spreading the Gospel in the remote villages where the abasomesa were faced with the various problems of a young and growing Christian Church.

The abasomesa - and later the ordained Basoga clergymen - received substantial assistance from the Basoga chiefs who used their political positions and wealth to further the growth and expansion of Christianity, particularly in the areas under their control. With the growing Christian population, the missionary bodies were encouraged to develop an indigenous professional ministry. During the inter-war period, for example, many of the Basoga catechists, hitherto untrained, were given formal training while others were admitted to the Holy Orders. This development enabled the Basoga

professionals, mainly those of the CMS, to assume more pastoral responsibilities, administer and organize the growing and expanding Busoga Church whose activities were, by the end of this period (1940), spread all over the country.

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My gratitude is also due to the librarians and archivists, who assisted me, particularly those of the Church Missionary Society, St. Joseph College (Mill Hill) the School of Oriental and African Studies, Makerere University library, Bishop's house archives, Entebbe and Jinja government archives.

I am also indebted to all my informants, who are listed at the end of the thesis, for their cooperation and hospitality which they so freely extended to me. I also owe special thanks to Mr. Paulo Bulibabuti of Iganga, who allowed me to use his house as my base throughout the period I spent doing field work in Busoga.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

AGOC	African Greek Orthodox Church.
Ch	Chapter.
CMI	Church Missionary Intelligencer.
CMR	Church Missionary Review.
CMS	Church Missionary Society.
DC	District Commissioner.
IRM	International Review of Missions.
KOAB	Katonda Omu Ayinza Byona.
MHM	Mill Hill Mission.
MSS	Manuscript.
NAC	Native Anglican Church.
SDA	Seventh Day Adventists.
SJA	St. Joseph's Advocate.
SMP	Secretariat Minute Paper.
TS	Typescript.
Ug. Jn.	Uganda Journal.
WF	White Fathers.
YBA	Young Basoga Association.

GLOSSARY

For the sake of clarity, many Lusoga words[1] have been used in the text. They include:

Abaise	prefix of clan eponym meaning person of the 'father'.
Abakungu	Territorial governors. In pre-colonial Busoga, the Abakungu were appointed by the ruler of the State.
Abalangira	Princes. The princes, whether they held office or not, enjoyed considerable social prestige in pre-colonial Busoga.
*Abasizi or Basizi	It meant school teachers, but it was not popularly used.
Abasomesa	Originally meant catechists. During the 1920s it was increasingly used to mean school teachers.
Abasomi	Originally meant the CMS adherents who were literate. The term was also loosely used to mean the Christians. With the advent of the schools, abasomi was increasingly used to mean the pupils in the schools.
Amasabo (sing. Eisabo)	Traditional religious shrines.
*Bafalansa	French party or group (Roman Catholics).
Bakopi	Commoners or peasants.
Balokole	Saved ones.
*Bangereza	English party or group (Protestants).
Busumba	Pastorate; also means the place where the pastor lives.

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1. The words which were adopted from Luganda are marked with an asterisk.

*Bwesengeze	Personal estates of the Basoga and Baganda chiefs; introduced in Busoga during Semei Kakungulu's administration there.
Bibina	Groups or societies or fraternities.
Ebisagati(sing. Ekisagati)	Palace or residence of a chief or ruler.
Ekitiibwa	Prestige. To be given ekitiibwa is to be regarded with awe.
Emitala	Villages. Sub-villages are called (ebisoko).
Enkiiko (sing. Olukiiko)	Committee or meeting.
Endobolo	Tithe system; common to the MHM adherents in Busoga.
*Gombolola	Sub-county.
*Katikiro	Chief minister of important chief or ruler. The term was also used to mean the person who was in charge of church land.
Kasanvu	Compulsory unpaid labour.
Mwenge	Beer, particularly beer brewed from ripe bananas.
Okusoma	To read or to go to school.
Okwabya Olumbe	Literally means, bursting death. It is the last traditional ritual which is performed when there has been a death in the family.
Omusambwa (pl. Emisambwa)	Deity, spiritual being or divinity.
Omusumba	Pastor or clergyman.
Omuzimu (pl.Emizimu)	Spirit; spirit of the deceased.
Owoluganda	Brother or sister.
*Saza	County.

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INTRODUCTION

A. Methodology and Field Experiences.

The period 1891-1940, which is covered in this study falls largely within the colonial period. The importance of this is that in most African countries, the beginning of the colonial government either coincided with or inaugurated the "literacy revolution" which was spearheaded by the missionary societies. Therefore, 1891-1940 is a period - one would expect - on which there is an immense amount of missionary literature, both published and unpublished. However, in the published records, as R. Oliver first observed in 1952, the Roman Catholic and Protestant catechists in Uganda had "received less than their share of fame.[1]

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1. R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa. Longmans. 1965 (2nd ed:) p.193.
Since 1952 when The Missionary Factor in East Africa was first published, a number of writers have deliberately tried to give the African Church worker, his fair "share of fame". For example,
Luck.A. African Saint: The story of Apolo Kivebulaya, SCM Press 1963. Luck's book was an improvement on Lloyd's Apolo of the Pygmy Forest., London 1923.
Taylor J.V. The Growth of the Church in Buganda., SCM Press 1958.
Pirouet. L, The Expansion of the Church of Uganda from Buganda into Northern and Western Uganda Between 1891 and 1914 with Special reference to the work of African Teachers and Evangelists. A Ph.D thesis for the University of East Africa 1968; to be published in the very near future.

After researching in the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and Mill Hill Mission (MHM) Archives in London in 1970/71, it became clear that Oliver's observation concerning the published missionary records was also generally true of the unpublished records. In the latter, as in the published records, the role of the African church worker had either been taken for granted and therefore ignored, or had been dwarfed. Therefore, to obtain a more balanced picture of the Basoga's role in the Church it was necessary to do field work in order to enable the Basoga themselves to tell their own story. The oral memoirs and evidence gathered would help to fill a gap that had been left unattended by the written sources.

I arrived in Uganda in mid-July 1971. This was an opportune time to arrive because the waves of the excitement which had been caused in some parts of Uganda by the army coup d'état in January 1971, were dying out. Also memories of the fallen government and all that it represented had begun to fade. Therefore, one could move about the country-side interviewing old people without one being suspected

of being a member of the General Service[1].

I spent the first month at Makerere University where further reading of missionary records, which were not available in London, was done. Also it was while here that I began to compile a list of possible informants. The informants I needed were mainly old men and women who had worked at various levels in the Church hierarchy during the prescribed period. Most of these people were living in retirement but some of them were still serving in the Church. A second group of informants I needed were the old chiefs, particularly the Gombolola or sub-county chiefs who were likely to be well informed since their position in the political hierarchy enabled them to maintain contact with both the top of the local administration and the rank and file[2].

As I come from Busoga, I already knew about ten old people who could be useful informants. But to build up a more comprehensive preliminary list of informants, I mainly depended, for the Anglican

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1. The previous government had established a country-wide system of government informers (GS). Consequently people all over the country had been cautious of what they said and to whom they said it.

2. See, for example, p.223.

informants, on Ebifa mu Buganda[1] in which the names and districts of origin of the students who had either been admitted or qualified as catechists and clergymen at the Anglican Theological College at Mukono were recorded. According to Ebifa mu Buganda about sixty Basoga had, by 1940, graduated through Mukono either as catechists, deacons and clergymen or schoolmasters. The names of these Mukono graduates were added to the list of possible informants. Also names were added on this list after I had contacted the Rev.Bamwoze, then a student at Makerere, who, in 1966, together with Professor N. King, had done some research on the Anglican Church in Busoga.

Although the Roman Catholics, like the Anglicans, published a monthly journal Munno (friend) since 1911, the names of their Church workers were not listed there. Therefore, for the preliminary list of Roman Catholic informants, I had to depend entirely on ten names given to me by Mr. C. Kirunda, of the Centre for Continuing Education at Makerere, who had done some research work in 1968 in connection with the

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1. Ebifa mu Buganda (The News in Buganda) was a monthly journal published from 1907-1939 by the Anglican Church in Uganda. In 1934 the title was changed to Ebifa mu Uganda.

Roman Catholic Church in Busoga[1].

By mid-August the total number of possible informants had risen to eighty which was a reasonably large number to keep one working in the field for several months.

The collection of oral evidence

As I was working in my own area I had a number of obvious advantages. First, I knew the language (Lusoga). This meant that the services of an interpreter would not be required, thus the chances of being misunderstood by the informants and vice versa were considerably minimised. Also knowledge of the local language enabled me to save considerable time as I used to transcribe from the tapes while translating into English at the same time. The transcribed tapes were erased in preparation for the next series of interviews[2].

Secondly, knowledge of the code of behaviour - which is highly valued by the old people - made it a lot easier, on the whole, for me to be accepted by the

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1. Kirunda and Bamwoze did not publish the results of their work, but they allowed me to read their field notes.

2. The transcription is further discussed on p.26.

informants. Further I have many friends, in Busoga, whose willingness to help me in various ways made the field work easier than it would otherwise have been[1].

Working in one's home area has also several disadvantages. First being young and a "local boy" may mean that some of the prominent old informants may find it difficult to take you seriously. For example, Samwiri Karugire who researched in his own country of Ankole in 1968 was - at least on one occasion-confronted with this problem[2]. I anticipated that I would be faced with a similar problem in Busoga. Consequently, for some of the interviews I was accompanied by either a friend or a relative who knew the informant and was also older than me. This had the effect of my being accepted by the informant instantly and of bridging the age gap between the informant and myself.

The idea of being accompanied was, however, gradually abandoned, as some of my companions - out of sheer zeal to assist me - tended to interfere with

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1. See for example, below p.19.

2. Karugire S. The Emergence and Growth of the Kingdom of Nkore in Western Uganda 1500-1896. Ph.D thesis. University of London, p. 43.

the conducting of the interviews. Further there was the danger that a good informant could be ignored because I did not know anybody to introduce me to him. Lastly, and more serious, being an Anglican necessarily meant that I had very limited contacts with the Roman Catholics. If the method of being introduced was continued, only a very small number of Catholic informants would be visited. As a result of all these considerations, I began to introduce myself to the informants[1].

I felt rejected only on two separate occasions. The first instance occurred at Bukoyo on 28th September 1971. The Catholic informant was strongly cautious of what he told me, he refused to have his voice recorded and declined to answer some of the questions particularly those relating to the European Roman Catholic missionaries. The second event took place on 16th October 1971 at Budini where, inspite of prior arrangements, the Catholic informant felt unable to be interviewed. Whether this apparent rejection occurred because I was an Anglican, or a young man and a "local boy", can hardly be answered.

The second major disadvantage was caused by the

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1. This is discussed on p. 23.

social and family obligations. In spite of repeated explanations, it was difficult for my relatives to appreciate the fact that I had gone to Uganda to do research work for which I had very limited time and funds. Therefore on several occasions I came under pressure either to attend a funeral - usually an elaborate affair lasting several days - or a marriage feast. I had bought an old car to solve my transport problems. But the possession of a car increased the social problems. Various relatives and friends used to send for me to take the sick to hospital. Such calls, which were frequent, since the public transport is not very reliable, let alone regular, were both time-consuming and detractive.

Lastly, working out in the countryside means that one cannot avail oneself of the University library services. If there was a need for one to consult a particular document - and indeed on three or four occasions there was such a need - one had to drive the 75 miles from the field to the library at Makerere.

These trips to Makerere tended, however, to be more fruitful than inconvenient since I also used those visits, to discuss my work with my friends there,

including some of the members of staff, particularly Drs. Lugira and Pirouet of the Department of Religious Studies. The discussions, which were always very refreshing, helped to draw my attention to information which I had overlooked - a common weakness among people working in their home areas - on the grounds that it was unimportant.

When I left Makerere in mid-August, I established my base at Iganga which is an old missionary centre, a fairly central place and well served by both roads and railway. I had also worked at Iganga as a teacher. Therefore, I knew several elderly Christians in the neighbourhood, who became my first informants. The latter added more names of possible informants on my list. I asked them to identify some of the people on my list, and to tell me where they lived. This procedure which was repeated whenever I visited any informant (Catholic or Anglican) was important for two reasons.

First it enabled me to add new names on the list of possible informants[1] and to eliminate those who had died. It was discovered, for example, that about half of the names obtained from Ebifa mu Buganda

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1. The names of the retired Gombolola or Saza chiefs were mainly obtained by this method.

belonged to people who had died. Secondly it was important to know exactly where the informants lived because given the limited funds and time available, I had limited the area of my research to within a radius of about twenty to twenty-five miles from Iganga. This method enabled me to visit and interview informants in all the counties[1] except Bugabula (old division) and Bukoli. One was conscious of the danger of eliminating some useful informants simply because they lived outside the area delimited for the primary research. Therefore, whenever an informant was strongly recommended by many of the informants already interviewed, I made it a point to visit and interview him irrespective of where he lived. For example, Nabikamba and Nkobera, both of whom were useful informants, lived outside the twenty five mile

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1. This study was limited to the current political boundaries of Busoga (see map.3).
There were eight counties in Busoga namely, Butembe-Bunya, Bugabula, Busiki, Bulamogi, Kigulu, Bugweri, Luwuka, Bukooli. However, because of recent administrative changes, Bugabula has been sub-divided into Buzaya, Budiope and Bugabula. Also Butembe-Bunya has been divided into Butembe and Bunya.

radius[1].

A more serious issue which may be raised here is whether by restricting oneself to a relatively small area one does not jeopardise one's chances of getting information which is fairly representative of the whole of Busoga. Almost all my informants had worked - some were still employed - either in the Church or the government for may years and were transferred from one part of Busoga to another. For example, Sira Nabugere who was interviewed on 20th October and 17th November 1971 at his home at Kaliro in Bulamogi county, had worked for three or more years in three other counties, Bugabula, Bukoli and Busiki. The importance of this is that although Nabugere would be categorized as an informant from Bulamogi, he had considerable experience and knowledge of some of the other parts of Busoga where he had worked. In other words, although the geographical area in which I worked was limited, the relevance of the evidence I collected

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1. Nabikamba, who has since died, had several homes in different parts of the country. The first interview with him on 21st November 1971 was at his Busanda home which is about thirty-five to forty miles from Iganga. Nkobera, who was interviewed on 7th March 1972 at his home at Buluya, lives about thirty miles from Iganga.

went well beyond the twenty-five miles limit.

Another group of informants consisted of what are generally known as "casual informants". These are men and women one meets without any prior arrangement and discusses with them one's work. Evidently some of the casual informants would not be very useful but a number of them turned out to be useful informants. It was for example under the casual informant category that I was able to "interview" Ezekieri Wako who, as a rule, does not otherwise give personal interviews[1]. Lest I forgot the details, I used to write down the discussion with a useful informant at the earliest available opportunity.

The information that I was looking for fell into two broad categories: first material relating to the general development of the Church in Busoga, and secondly the informant's life history. There were no

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1. I met Wako at Kalikwani's home in Jinja on 5th December 1971. Wako was a Saza chief of Bulamogi 1915-1921. He resigned the post of Saza chief because he had been appointed President of Busoga Lukiiko in 1919. He retained the post until 1939 when he was named Isebantu Kyabazinga (The father of the people who unites them) of Busoga. He retired from public service in 1949.

appointments made for most of the interviews. I simply drove to the informant's home, went through all the welcome rituals, introduced myself - if I was not accompanied - and stated the purpose of my visit. I photographed all my informants and I always carried the photographs of some of the well known informants. Showing some of those photographs to a new informant - as I often did - had a reassuring effect on the new informants as the genuineness of my visit was thus strongly confirmed.

The first five informants to be interviewed had asked me for my father's name and the county from which I came. After that experience, I began adding my father's name and my place of origin to my introduction to a new informant. Admittedly this was risky because I could have, unknowingly, introduced myself to my father's old enemy. However, this did not happen and, by and large, most of the informants welcomed me warmly since they knew my father as he had himself been closely associated with the Church in his capacity as a school teacher[1].

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1. My father, Ezekieri Tenywa, was born in September 1913. He was educated in the Church School at Namutumba. He became a school teacher in the 1920s. Between 1939 and 1941 he went to Mukono Theological College where he obtained the Second Certificate

The informants were allowed to speak freely at first about the development of the Church in Busoga. However, it was always frustrating to note that this account, which could last about five to ten minutes, often began with the first European missionaries in Busoga and ended with the last European missionaries there. When the informant stopped, he was reminded about the Baganda missionaries about whom he then spoke until he ran out of information. He was again reminded of the prominent Basoga church workers about whom he again spoke freely before he was introduced to the second and main part of the interview, the life history.

For the second part of the interview, the informant was again encouraged to speak freely at first with only minimum interference from me. But for many of the informants considerable questioning had to be done to

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Footnote I. continued from p. 23.

which authorised him to work as a catechist. While at Mukono, he met many of the catechists who still remember him. However, the need for the trained school teachers was so great that he was sent back to the schools in which he worked until his retirement in 1968. He however, retained his link with the church workers with whom he generally worked. As a school teacher he worked in three different counties, Busiki, Bukoli and Luwuka, which also partly explains his being known by many of the catechists and school teachers who were interviewed. Interview with Tenywa E. on 2nd March 1972 at Kasedhere.

get them to give the information that I was looking for. One had to avoid, however, asking suggestive questions to which the informant could easily reply with a "Yes"or"No".

Another problem was that some of the informants tended to exaggerate their role in the Church and to gloss over their weaknesses. For example, three elderly catechists who will remain nameless since they are still living in Bulamogi claimed that they had been denied a chance to study for ordination because the Church hierarchy was against the people from Bulamogi. But on checking this with other informants and Ebifa mu Buganda, it was discovered that the three men had each sat and failed the ordination entrance examination three times.

I used a tape recorder for all but one of the interviews[1]. Although the informants were eager to have their voices recorded, there was generally considerable uneasiness and nervousness for the first ten or more minutes on their part. As this condition tended to interfere with the flow of their testimony, it was always helpful to play back the tape after about

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1. Supra, page.17.

five minutes of recording. This tended to restore the confidence of the informant. Secondly playing the tape back enabled one to know whether anything was being recorded and how strong the batteries were.

Whenever enough material had been collected, I stopped interviewing for three or four days in order to do the transcription. As I had only a small number of tapes to use, the transcription had to be done regularly to enable me to use the tapes again. Also by transcribing the tapes regularly, I was able to compare the various interviews now and again and to determine both new questions and new ways of asking some of the old questions.

I ruled out both the use of a questionaire and group interviews. The former would be expensive as it would mean employing either one or more assistants. Secondly it would also be wasteful since after the assistants have done their work, there is a great temptation - if not a duty - for the researcher to go round visiting the same informants either to ask them more questions or to verify what the assistants had done before. Further a questionaire would not be suitable for my kind of research. Lastly the group interviews would perhaps be counter-productive since

the informants, who were also talking about their life history, would tend to be over protective in a group situation.

I generally gave gifts of money, three or four shillings, to the informants who, in my judgement, deserved it. The informants who qualified for the small gift of money fell into two groups. The first group consisted of those informants who appeared to be so poor that they would value that small gift. The second group comprised people I had stopped from working in order to be interviewed. On many occasions I arrived in an informant's home only to find him already at work in his garden. He would leave his work and sit for half of the day talking to me. Such a person deserved some kind of reward to compensate for the day's work which had been lost.

Most researchers do not give money to informants on the grounds that the practice tends to put research work on a commercial footing which will in turn lower the quality of the evidence. This argument is only convincing in a situation where the informant takes the initiative and asks for money before he is interviewed. Indeed two of the would-be informants did this and I declined to interview them. The argument is also convincing when large sums of money are

involved. But when three or four shillings are given at the end of the interview, on the researcher's own initiative, the danger of commercializing research is virtually eliminated.

Private Papers and Diaries: As almost all the informants were literate men and women I expected that at least half of them would have old private papers and diaries where pieces of information relevant to my work would have been recorded. Consequently at the end of every interview, I inquired whether the informant kept a diary or had had any private papers. The latter was simply difined as any material of historical interest which the informant had written and had since kept in a "safe" place, an old tin or a box. All the informants, but two, neither kept diaries nor possessed private papers. The two informants who kept written records were, moreover, disappointing.

The first informant would not let me read his diary because he claimed to have recorded some personal information in it. The second informant, who indicated that he intended to write a book on the CMS in Busoga denied me access to his private papers. As the latter would form the main body of evidence for the proposed book, he feared, as he put it, that if I published my

thesis before his book was ready, the relevance of his book would be seriously undermined.

Luckily, however, I discovered that some of the Anglican pastorates (busumba) kept a number of Minute Books for various committees, Baptism and Marriage Registers. As the busumba have no proper system of keeping records, many of their old books have been either lost or misplaced. However, in three of the four old missionary centres, which now form the oldest busumba, I found a number of old Minute Books which, helped to throw more light on the process of assumption of more and more responsibilities by the Basoga church workers[1].

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1. The Anglican Church has more than ten busumba in Busoga. But it was only the oldest busumba, former mission centres - Kamuli, (which I was unable to visit) Jinja, Iganga and Kaliro, that would have the old records I was interested in.
Some of the records I found and used were the following:
i) Ekitabo kyo Lukiiko lwe Iganga (the Iganga busumba minute book) dating from November 1902 - July 1926, Iganga busumba Archives.
ii) CMS Ekitabo kye'bitesebwa Olukiiko lwe Gwanga, (ruridecanal council minute book) dating from March 1936 - April 1945, Iganga busumba Archives, had been moved from Jinja busumba Archives.
iii) Ekitabo kyo Lukiiko lwo Muluka NAC Iganga (Iganga parish-Muluka-minute book) dating from February 1937 to December 1939, Iganga busumba Archives.
iv) Ekitabo kyo Lukiiko Kaliro (the Kaliro busumba minute book) dating from September 1914 to August 1930.

By contrast the Roman Catholics did not have any old records at the local stations. This was so mainly because the MHM's Church government was rather different from that of the CMS which was committee based[1]. Secondly the MHM have assembled all the available Busoga records in one place, the Bishops's House at Jinja. I spent about three weeks working in these archives at Jinja. Although all the records there were written by the European missionaries, they give some indication of the roles of the Basoga catechists and chiefs in the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Busoga.

Concluding remarks: As I had rather scanty funds to do the field work, I spent only eight months in Uganda. For three of the eight months I worked in various archives and libraries at Makerere, Uganda Museum, Entebbe Government archives, District Commissioner's archives, Jinja and the Bishop's House archives, Jinja. For the five months when I did field interviews, I recorded about 90 to 100 hours of tetimony. Although my work was mainly concerned with the Anglican and Roman Catholic Church, I would have liked to have been able to do some more intensive and extensive

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1. For the differences between the two governments see p.179-190.

interviewing of the leadership of the "Independent Churches", Katonda Omu Ayinza Byona or Malaki and African Greek Orthodox Church, in Busoga[1]. A study of the leadership of the "Independent Churches" would - among other things - help to add a new and interesting demension to the question of Christian leadership in Busoga.

Another line of study which should have proved useful, if one had the time, would have been gathering oral evidence in Samia, Bukedi and Bugisu with regard to the large number of Basoga evangelists who went to work there in the 1900s[2].

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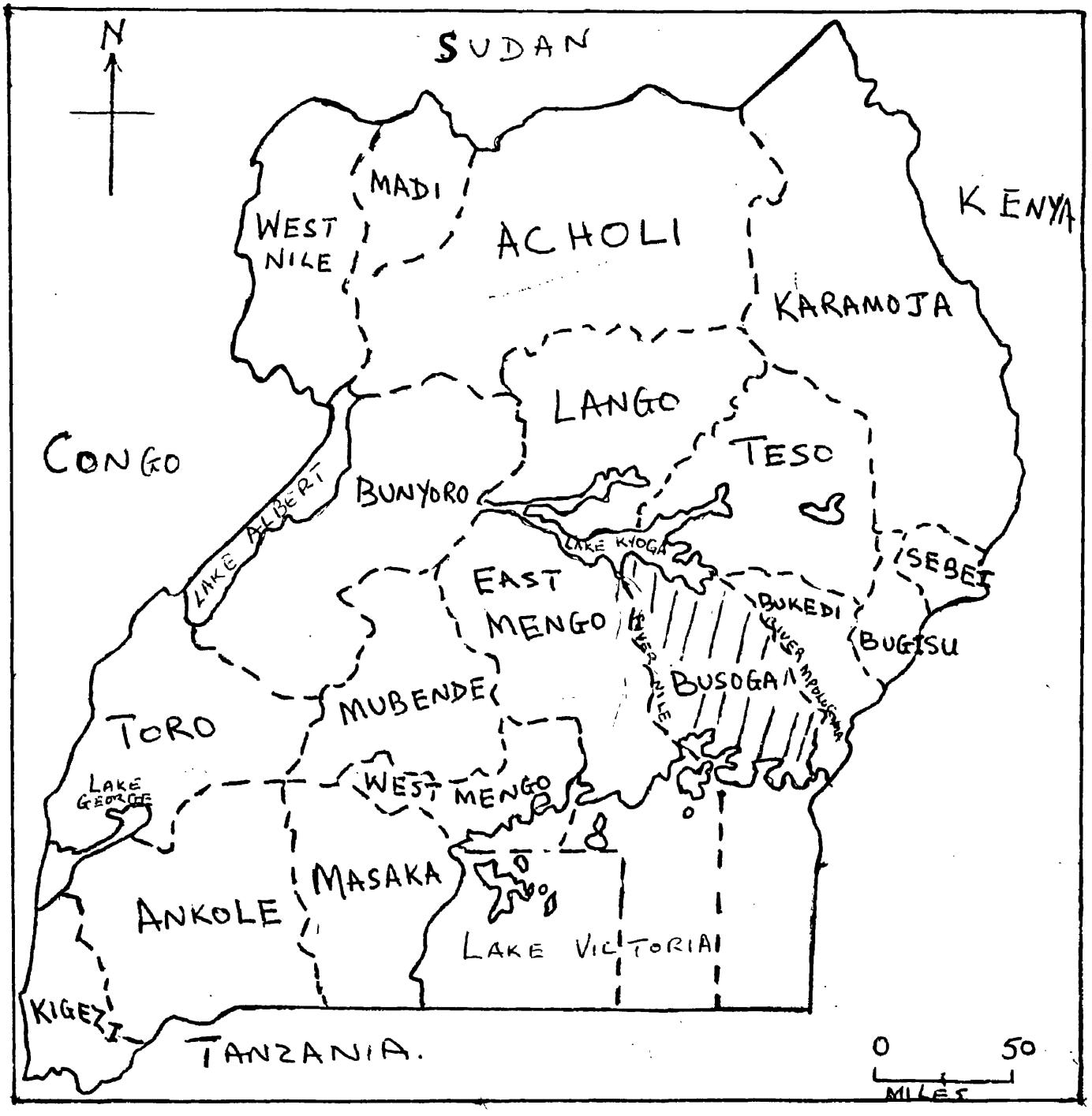
1. I was able to interview only two leaders from the "Independent Churches".
Matayo Musowoko a Mumalaki and a catechist was interviewed at his home at Busalamu on 24th March 1972.
Pasha an ordained minister in the African Greek Orthodox Church (AGOC) was interviewed at his home at Nsinze on 27th March 1972. Scattered bits of information on church independency had, however, been already obtained from other informants who had been closely associated with the leadership of the "Independent Churches".
For example, Eriaya Mukwatandeku who was interviewed at Nakirulwe on 23rd March 1972, had been the Gombolola chief at Nsinze when Pasha introduced AGOC in 1936.
See Ch.VI. for further information on the "Independent Church".

2. See p.161.

MAP. 1. UGANDA, POLITICAL DIVISIONS 1969.



KEY.

International boundaries

District boundaries.

Busoga District

B. Busoga Background (Introduction).

This study attempts to unravel and establish the contribution of the Basoga church leaders (including mainly the important Basoga chiefs)[1] to the growth and expansion of Christianity in Busoga from 1891-1940. Towards the end of the inter-war period, the number of Basoga Christians, which since 1921 had been growing at the average rate of 2260 people every year, had risen to the impressive figure of 55,599 in 1936[2]. This was approximately 15% of the total population in Busoga[3]. This is a remarkable story of success which in missionary literature is almost credited to only the European missionaries. For example, an anonymous Roman Catholic writer who had noted the growing rapid success of the MHM in north Busoga in 1909 attributed the success of the MHM to "after Christ's grace, the principal causes are the love of the Catholic missionary

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1. This refers mainly to the Saza (county) and Gombolola (sub-county) chiefs.

2. The Uganda Blue books 1921; 1931 and 1936.

3. The total population of Basoga was estimated to be 387,252 in 1936. Uganda blue books 1936.

for the natives, the good organization of the mission and the influence of the schools"[1].

However, this study argues that the remarkable success of the Christian Church in Busoga, owes a great deal to the Basoga Church leaders' initiative and tireless efforts to promote the Church in their area. It was felt that if the Basoga Church leaders had played a crucial role in the moulding and nourishing of the Christian Church in Busoga, it is of great importance that their contribution should be recognised and placed in its right perspective. Therefore, the approach adopted in this study focuses particularly on the role and development of the Basoga Church leaders from a small group of untrained catechists to an organised body of largely trained catechists and ordained ministers, the Basoga professionals.

The recent scholarship on African Christianity, which is a relatively new field, has been largely dominated by literature on the African independent

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1. The MHM had about 1100 Christians in north Busoga in 1909 and another 400 were already in the baptism pipe-line.
"History of the Kamuli Mission" in St.Joseph's Advocate (SJA) Autumn quarter volume V. no:14, 1909, p.278.

Churches[1]. This emphasis on the independent Church movement has been based, it seems, on the assumption that it is the independent Churches that represent what may be called "true" African Christianity. It is, for example, in the independent Churches that the African Christians are said to "feel at home"[2]. It was also to the independent Churches that Sundkler had to look with the hope of discerning "tendencies that could be utilized in the practical task of building Christ's Church in Africa"[3]. This emphasis on the independent Churches tends, apparently, to underestimate the pace of adaptation and borrowing which occurs between Christianity and the traditional religious and social systems long before, and even

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1. Some of the well known published works include the following:
B.G. Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa. Oxford University Press. 1961 (2nd edition)
H.W. Turner, ~~History of An~~ African Independent Church. The Church of the Lord (Aladura). Two volumes. Clarendon Press Oxford. 1967.
Welbourn and Ogot, A place to feel at Home. Oxford University Press. 1966.
D. Barrett, African Initiatives in Religion. Oxford University Press. 1972.
See Also Ch. VI for more references on this subject.

2. This was first suggested by F. Welbourn in East African Rebels. SCM Press 1961. p. 201.

3. Sundkler. op. cit. p.17.

after, there has been an incidence of Church independency in a particular denomination.

The task of aiding and shaping this process of adaptation, particularly during the pioneer period, fell largely on the shoulders of the Basoga church workers who had to interpret the Bible intelligibly to their listeners. For example, the traditional forms of speech and ethical system were, and are still used to express the Christian message[1]. Further, the Basoga church workers had the responsibility of seeing that "Christian discipline" was observed by members of their congregations. This meant, among other things, watching the line between "Christian" and "non-Christian" practices and forms of behaviour. Indeed some of the decisions, regarding the tradional practices and beliefs that were either "Christianized"

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1. The Basoga ethical system follows the pattern, "do not do x, if you do, some misfortune or disaster will result". The Basoga church leaders generally used the same system in teaching the "Christian" code of behaviour. For example, "do not work on your fields on Sunday, if you do, the crops will wither". Interview with Mrs. Sala Byansi, on 21st October 1971 at Butongole. See also Uganda Notes, vol:iv, No:4 April 1903, p.21-22.

and adopted or rejected as evil were sometimes made by the Basoga church leaders in their various enkiiko (singular, Olukiiko)or Committees[1].

The development of Christianity in Busoga was greatly conditioned by the pre-existing situation there. Consequently it should now be asked what 19th century Busoga was like just before Christianity was introduced there in 1891.

Population

The Basoga, who in the 1969 census were estimated to be 948,934[2], live in Busoga district in eastern Uganda. Busoga district has a land area of about 3,443 square miles. In 1893, the railway survey team visiting Busoga estimated the population there to be

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1. For example, in 1921, the Iganga busumba (pastorate) Olukiiko resolved that the Christians in the busumba should stop participating in the traditional ceremony of Okwabya olumbe (bursting death) which was thought to reflect traits of traditional religion. Ekitabo Kyo Lukiiko lwe Iganga (busumba) (Iganga busumba Minute book) 23rd November 1921. Iganga busumba archives.

2. This figure is quoted by B.W. Langlands in The Population Geography of Busoga District. Occasional paper No.40. Geography Department, Makerere University 1971. p.1.

300,000[1]. Some of the other early European visitors to both south and north Busoga described Busoga as a densely populated country[2]. However, as Busoga, particularly south Busoga, was severely hit by the sleeping sickness epidemic and the Mugandya famine at the beginning of this century, the population there suffered a sharp decline. It was estimated, for example, that the sleeping sickness victims in south Busoga alone were about 20,000[3]. The subsquent evacuation of south Busoga caused central Busoga[4] to have a reasonably high density of population. For example, in 1911 the average number of persons per square mile in north Busoga was 60, in south (Bukoli) it was 17 while in central Busoga (Kigulu) there were 164 people living on one square mile[5]. It was mainly in this densely settled central belt as map 3 indicates,

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1. Kuczinsky, A Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire. Vol.II. p.87. Quoted by Langlands, Ibid. p. 39.

2. See, for example, (i) H.B. Thomas, "The last Days of Bishop Hannington". Uganda Journal Vol: VII no:I September 1940. p. 22. (ii) Fr. A. Brard's letter to "My Lord" 19th July 1891 in Chronique Trimestrielle, No:53. p.103.

3. CMS Annual Reports 1902-1903. p. 138.

4. Here central Busoga encompasses the counties of Bulamogi, Luwuka, Kigulu, Bugweri and Busiki. See map 3.

5. Information derived from Langlands op.cit.p.17.

that the missionary activities were concentrated.

Natural environment and Economic activities

Busoga is nearly surrounded by water and the early explorer, Speke, mistakenly referred to her as an island[1]. To the West is the river Nile which marks the boundary between Buganda and Busoga. The Nile is rather narrow at Bugungu near the now submerged Rippon Falls. It was here that the Nile was crossed from Buganda to Busoga and vice versa. Another crossing point was further down stream near Mbulamuti. This crossing which linked north Busoga and Bulondoganyi or Bugerere county of Buganda was not as popular as the crossing at Bugungu which was directly linked to the caravan route from the east coast.

To the east is river Mpologoma which separates Busoga from Bukedi district. River Mpologoma and Lake Kioga to the north of Busoga where it forms the boundary between Busoga and Lango district, have floating papyrus islands which may have restricted the use of the river and the lake as waterways in the last century. To the south is lake Victoria with several large islands. Some of the large islands with

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1. J.H. Speke. Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile. Blackwood and Sons, 1863. p. 467.

which Busoga seems to have had a trading relationship included Buvuma, Sigulu and Bugaya[1].

Physically Busoga is an undulating country with several north-ward flowing, swampy rivers and scattered flat-topped hills which reach about 700 to 800 feet above the floors of the valleys[2].

Climatically Busoga is divisible into a northern and southern zone. The whole of Busoga receives well over 40 inches of rain every year[3]. The southern zone, which has a less monthly variation in rainfall, supports a thick forest vegetation along the shores of lake Victoria and the eastern bank of the Nile. Also plantain or matoke which is the staple food of the Basoga grows mainly in the southern zone all the year round. Indeed the early European visitors to south Busoga were impressed by the "endless banana gardens"[4]

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1. In 1885 Bishop Hannington came across a thriving market and on the shore he noted many canoes from the islands.
H.B. Thomas. op.cit.p.22.

2. D.W. Cohen, The Historical Tradition of Busoga Mukama and Kintu. Clarendon Press Oxford. 1972.

3. G. Hickman and G. Dickins, The Lands and Peoples of East Africa. Longmans, Green and Co:Ltd (2nd edition) 1961. p.88.

4. For example, Sir Gerald Portal. The British Mission to Uganda. Edward Arnold. London 1894.p.134.
Also Bishop Tucker to the CMS 4th October 1895.
CMS Archives. G3, A5/O.

in Busoga. The abundant supply of food was not only important to the caravan traffic but would also be of considerable attraction to missionaries who were on the look-o t for possible areas into which to expand[1].

The northern zone which has a poor monthly rainfall distribution supports a short grass-savanna type of vegetation. Matoke are not widely grown in this zone because of its uneven distribution of rainfall. However, obulo (finger millet) which only requires rainfall mainly in the first two or three months of its growing period is widely grown there. Consequently, obulo is the most widely and commonly used food in the northern zone. As one goes further north, the rainfall tends to decrease, the population grows thinner and cattle keeping becomes increasingly important.

The dependence on matoke as the basic food crop enabled the Basoga to lead a sendentary life[2]. Admittedly, in the nineteenth century, many opportunists were migrating from the southern to the northern states.

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1. See p.77.

2. Fallers has rightly observed that a carefully cultivated plantain garden may remain productive for more than fifty years.
L.A. Fallers, Bantu Bureaucracy. University of Chicago Press. 1965 edition. p.51.
Also potatoes, groundnuts and maize were grown to supplement matoke and obulo. Fr. A. Brard. op.cit p.103.

This was caused by the declining lake trade which had began to lose its momentum as the Baganda raids into south Busoga intesified[1]. However, it appears that towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Basoga had, in spite of the increasing Baganda raiding expeditions and inter-state rivalry, settled down forming fairly stable communities[2]. The main advantage of this continuity of settlement is fully appreciated when it is realised that in other areas like southern Tanzania, where the local communities were unstable, "mission stations were regularly left stranded by the movement away of villages or of chiefs and their followers"[3].

There was a fair amount of internal trading going on in nineteenth century Busoga. The CMS missionaries, Rowling and Crabtree, for example, listed four markets at Kaima's, Nsanga's, Nanyumba's and Magumba's on their

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1. D.W. Cohen, "Sharing Authority in Pre-colonial Northern Busoga". Paper for the African Seminar, University of London (SOAS) on 7th June 1972, p.7. See p.52-54 for information on the Baganda raids.

2. See, for example, Bishop Tucker's letter to the CMS 4th October 1895. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

3. T.O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo (ed.) The Historical Study of African Religion. Heinemann, 1972 p.224.

sketch map of Busoga in 1895[1]. A local source named another six market sites namely Wambeete, Waigula, Kanyumuzi, Mabenga, Gawumbeku and Buluba[2]. These markets served as places where the Basoga went to exchange their goods, pots, goats, barkcloth, hoes and fowl. Also these markets were the scene for social and political gossip and with the arrival of the Christian missionaries, some of the markets provided a forum for the exchange and absorption of new ideas[3]. The Basoga also traded with the Banyoro from whom they bought hoes[4]. It is rather puzzling that although the Basoga could make their own spears, knives and axes[5],

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1. The Sketch map has been reproduced as map 2. The original is kept in the CMS Archives G3, A5/0.

2. T. Tuma, Introduction and Expansion of Cotton in Kigulu county 1907-1950. Kampala. Milton Obote Foundation 1968. p.8.

3. For example, the CMS missionaries and their Basoga colleagues regularly used the market at Iganga or Magumba's (see map 2) as a place for disseminating Christian propaganda.
"Work at Iganga North Busoga" in Uganda Notes. Vol.IV., No:4. April 1903, p. 21-22.

4. It is possible that Bunyoro mentioned here may turn out to be Bulondoganyi (see p.39) where a dialect, Lunyara which was akin to Lunyoro was spoken.

5. Fr. A. Brard. p. 105.

they could not, apparently, make their own hoes. The Basoga also exchanged Basoga slaves for fire-arms from Buganda; ivory from Masaba area (Bugishu) cattle and goats from Bukedi[1].

Before the arrival of the European missionaries and travellers, the Basoga do not seem to have had any prolonged previous contacts with either the Coastal Arabs or Swahili traders. Indeed Fr. Brard observed, for example, "Les basogas n'ont jamais été en relation avec les Blancs on les Arabes, ..."[2]. However, Speke claimed he had met, in Tanzania an Arab trader named Sirboko who alleged that he had traded in Usoga in the 1850s[3]. Further Lubogo also asserted that Busoga (Bugweri county) had been visited in the 1880s by Arab traders or Abalungana who traded in coloured cloth and beads[4]. However, if the Arabs had traded in Busoga

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1. Y.K. Lubogo, A History of Busoga. East African Literature Bureau, 1960. p.238.

2. Fr. Brard, p.103.
A similar observation had also be n made in 1890 by Cyril Gordon of the CMS.
Gordon to Mr. Lang. 15th August 1890. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

3. Speke. op.cit.p.102; 468.

4. Lubogo. p.61.

before the arrival of the European missionaries, they do not seem to have stayed long enough to make any impact on the Basoga[1].

The Lusoga Language

Linguistically, Busoga is again divisible into two dialect zones, the northern and southern zone. Indeed the linguistic differences constituted one of the obstacles to the missionary language policy in Busoga at the end of the nineteenth century[2]. In the northern zone, which is associated with the descendants of the Lwo people, a dialect called Lupakooyo was spoken[3]. In the southern zone, which is associated with the Bantu immigrants, a dialect known as Lutenga was spoken. Lutenga was akin to both the dialect spoken by the islanders[4] and the Luganda language. This enabled the Baganda missionaries who went to Busoga to continue using their own language there[5].

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1. Infra, p.76.

2. See p. 116-118.

3. Lubogo p. 152-153.

4. Rev. Crabtree of the CMS who visited Bugaya in 1896 formed the impression that Lusoga (Lutenga) was spoken on these islands.
Crabtree's Journal. 6th January 1896. CMS Archives G3, A5/0.

5. See p.117 for the difficulties which were initially caused by the use of Luganda in Busoga by the Baganda missionaries there.

Social and Political Organization

The clan and the state, as Cohen has rightly observed, formed the two principal institutions of social organization in pre-colonial Busoga. The clan was concerned with blood relationships while the state dealt with political relationships[1]. The clan or ekika (ebika, plural) was formed by those who recognised a common ancestor through male lines. The ebika were exogamous and every ekika had its own totem as a mark of identity. Cohen has estimated that in 1892 there were 220 clans in Busoga[2]. Some of the ebika belonged to the royal and ruling houses but others, the majority, belonged to the bakopi (peasants).

It seems that when the missionaries arrived, the ekika was corporately weaker than it had been previously. This was because there had been considerable dispersal of members of the various ebika. The dispersal was caused by mounting population pressure on the land and the need to search for new opportunities[3]. Clan dispersal could also have occurred as a result of a

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1. Cohen, The Historical Tradition of Busoga, p.6.
2. Ibid. p.7.
3. Fallers, p.65.

major dispute in the clan or following a struggle for power and leadership of the clan. Clan dispersal contributed to the formation of lineages (nda) under a dominant personality by those who traced their genealogies through the male line to a common ancestor. Although the lineages, on the whole seem to have retained some connection with the main ebika, often lack of communication would lead to "complete breakdown in mutual corporateness"[1]. It appears, therefore, that by the arrival of the missionaries, the lineage as a sub-unit of the clan, was increasingly becoming an important corporate group providing security and identity to a growing number of the Basoga. Christianity would be faced with the difficult problem of breaking through this clan and lineage solidarity[2].

The Basoga rulers, unlike the kings of Buganda, belonged to the father's ekika. Hence the existence of the royal ebika. One of the important means the ruling ebika used to establish and maintained both social and political relationships with the bakopi was through marriage ties. For example, in Luwuka

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1. Cohen. p.9.

2. See, for example, p.121; 324-327.

where Fr. Brard attempted to establish a mission in 1891, Tabingwa, the ruler there, is alleged to have had five capitals in each of which he kept at leastt 200 wives[1]. This practice of polygamy was indeed the ideal form of marriage. Although polygamy does not seem to have been widely spread among the bakopi[2], they certainly aspired to that form of marriage since polygamy would contribute to the desired rapid numerical growth of ekika[3]. Also polygamists enjoyed considerable ekitiibwa or prestige in the Basoga society. Polygamy would, therefore, become one of the most formidable obstacles that the missionaries would have to face in Busoga[4]. This form of marriage, also helped to establish a link between the husband's and wife's lineages, thus widening the circle of friends who could

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1. Fr. Brard, p. 104.
Bishop Tucker who was visiting Busoga in 1899 found about 300 women in one of Tabingwa's capitals; possibly the capital at Kiyunga.
Bishop A. Tucker, Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa. Edward Arnold, 1908. Vol.II. p.223.

2. Fr. Brard, observed that most of the bakopi were too poor to be polygamists. p. 104.

3. Cohen has estimated that most of the Basoga clans number between 1000 to 3000 people. The abaiseNgobi ruling clan was, however, estimated to number more than 50,000. Cohen, p.7.

4. See for example p.115; 120.

be rallied in time of need.

By the middle of the nineteenth century Busoga, it appears, had largely evolved into a single cultural unit. Unlike the rest of the interlacustrine countries, however, Busoga was not under one centralised king or ruler. There were over forty independent and generally, rival states in Busoga[1]. Southern Busoga, which had had more than its share of Buganda armed intervention, had a larger number of states which were, on the whole, considerably smaller than the states in north Busoga[2]. In spite of the apparent political fluidity and fragmentation, the various Busoga states showed a common structural similarity[3].

The political structure in Busoga, like elsewhere in the interlacustrine region, was hierarchical. At the top of the administration of a state was the ruler whose position was hereditary. The ruler, in his/as position head of the state, delegated some of his authority to

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1. Lubogo has listed forty seven states. p.4. Fr. Brard recognised at least forty states. p. 103. Cohen has recently been able to identify about sixty eight states which were significant before 1892; p.12.

2. See map 2.

3. A.I. Richards (ed:) East African Chiefs. Faber and Faber Ltd. London 1960.p.81.

his favourate fellow princes - a practice which tends to encourage secession[1] - and bakopi who would be either brothers in-laws, pages, or men who had distinguished themselves on battle fields. Some of these royal appointees worked as palace officials while others acted as territorial governors or abakungu[2]. The abakungu and abalangira in turn ruled over emitala (villages) and ebisoko (sub-villages) whose heads, who would again be either princes or abakopi, were appointed by either the ruler himself or a senior omukungu (singular).

The various chiefs ruled their areas, gathered tribute which was shared through the hierarchy, called men to war and dispensed justice[3]. The ruler generally led his army to war and dispensed justice although his

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1. Cohen, Seminar paper. p.4-6. The Historical Tradition of Busoga, p. 13-14. See also Fallers p.134.

2. The use of this term was restricted to the bakopi territorial governors. The princes or abalangira who held similar posts retained their designation.

3. Fallers, p. 137.
Lubogo's description of "How Busoga was governed" gives a wrong impression as it seems to be strongly coloured by political developments during the colonial period. Lubogo, p.143-146.

arbitrary use of the enormous power invested in him generally attracted missionary criticism[1]. However, the Christian missionaries later exploited the Basoga chiefs' power, influence and prestige to aid the development of the Christian Church in Busoga[2]. The ruler had also some religious duties to carry out, but his religious role will be discussed later[3].

The political situation in nineteenth century Busoga remained tense. This did not only result from the constant threat of princely secession but also from inter-state rivalry which often led to war. For example, Fr. Brard had observed that in five months, Tabingwa was involved in three different wars with the neighbouring states[4]. These inter-state wars were generally motivated by the desire to pillage and plunder and to extend territorial boundaries[5]. The intervention of Buganda into the internal situation in Busoga served to create more tension there.

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1. Bishop Tucker Vol:II., p.225.
Fr. Brard, p. 109.

2. Infra Chapter Four.

3. See p. 61-62.

4. Fr. Brard. p. 106.

5. Lubogo. p.19;45;55.

It is claimed that Busoga was first invaded by the Baganda during kabaka Mawanda's reign (1674-1704)[1]. The invasion was apparently only intended to plunder the country. However, kabaka Kyabaggu (1704-1734) Mawanda's successor, who settled in Jinja (Busoga) for some months, attempted to colonize Busoga and was only driven out of the country mainly by the concerted efforts of the Basoga[2]. It seems that after Kyabaggu's abortive attempt to settle in Busoga, the later Baganda kings, were content to keep Busoga both as a tributary state and a raiding ground.

The Baganda would, on their own initiative, send raiding expeditions to Busoga. But often the Baganda raiders went to Busoga at the request of a dissident Musoga prince or a Musoga ruler who had a succession dispute to settle, a civil disturbance to quell or an inter-state war to fight[3]. It is not known exactly

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1. Kiwanuka, A History of Buganda. From the foundation of the kingdom to 1900. Longmans 1971.p.76.

2. Kiwanuka. p.80.

3. Lubogo, p.6-7.
Also Nabikamba's testimony collaborated this information. Interview with Z. Nabikamba on 21st November 1971 at Busanda.

how often the Baganda raiding expeditions visited Busoga. However, Alexander Mackay of the CMS estimated in 1881, that about three raiding expeditions were sent to Busoga annually[1]. Most of these raids would be limited to the southern parts of the country although towards the last part of the century, some of the raiding expeditions extended their activities to northern Busoga[2].

The booty the Baganda carried off with them included thousands of women and children, cattle, goats and ivory[3]. These raids tended to be brutal and often led to considerable human suffering[4] and

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1. Mackay's Journal 23rd December 1881 in Church Missionary Intelligencer 1881, p.616.

2. On the average the Baganda raided here once every two years; deduction from Cohen, Seminar paper p.15 footnote 20.

3. Mackay's Journal 23rd December 1881, p.616.

4. In 1879 during one of their raids, for example, the Baganda murdered a chief (Ngobi of Kigulu) or Walusansa). They ordered (Nyiro) his elder son to drink the blood of his murdered father before they took the boy to Buganda as a captive. Also, "very often when the attacks were unexpected, the unfortunate people were tied up to the posts in their own huts and burned alive".
Fr. Burns, St. Joseph's Advocate, spring quarter 1910, No:16, p.312.
Also Lubogo, p.35.

devastation[1].

One of the important positive effects of the Buganda raids was that they created in southern Busoga an extensive network of foot-paths which were regularly used by the raiding parties and the booty they had seized. Some of these foot-paths would later form part of the eastern route which was increasingly used as a caravan route linking Buganda and Busoga to the east coast[2].

The Religious situation towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Traditional Religion[3]: In Busoga, as in other African communities, spirit power which was omnipontent and timeless, was believed to influence every human activity and initiated every event that was beyond human (or Basoga's) understanding. The early missionaries to Busoga observed the wide-spread manifestation of traditional

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1. Bishop Hannington had met a "mob of Baganda raiders" in Busoga. The raiders hacked down hundreds of banana trees. He remarked, "the fertile country was devastated". H.B. Thomas, "The last days of Bishop Hannington". Uganda Journal, Vol:vii, No:1, 1st September 1940. Entry of 18th October 1885. P 23.
For more information on Bishop Hannington see p. 73.

2. Infra, p.74.

3. Although this discussion is in the past-tense, the religious system which is described still exists in Busoga.

religion there with considerable disquiet[1]. The European missionaries who hardly saw any value in Traditional Religion were quick to dismiss it simply as lubale[2] worship or heathenism which "enslaved (the Basoga) in a bondage little better than a living death"[3]. There was, however, a reasonably coherent religious system which was playing a more positive role among the Basoga than the European missionaries would have cared to admit.

The Basoga, like their neighbours, the Baganda, had a vague notion of the Creator, Katonda[4] or Kibumba[5]. The reference to the Creator as Kibumba may well have originated in the Bugulu community in south Busoga where the followers of Igulu who migrated there "some generations

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1. For example, Bishop Hanlon to Cardinal Vaughan 7th August 1898. SJ.A Spring quarter 1899, p.376. Also Bishop Tucker. op.cit. Vol:II. p. 213.

2. Lubaale is a name of a deity. It is common to both Busoga and Buganda.

3. Bishop Tucker. Vol:II, p.38-39.
Also Fr. M. Condon described the Basoga's religion as "a vast conglomeration of more or less ridiculous superstitions". "Contribution to the Ethnography of the Basoga Batamba". Anthropos VI, 1911, p.381.

4. Fr. Brard, p. 108.

5. Kibumba literally means one who moulds or does pottery. Okuwumba,Verb.

before the arrival of Kintu", are said to have known God as Kibumba[1]. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that four centuries later very little could be remembered about Kibumba. According to tradition - which incidentally, seems to attempt to explain the diminished influence of Kibumba - after he had created the earth and the people, Kibumba is alleged to have moved further into the sky leaving the spirits to act as his representatives on earth[2].

The spirit-world, which like the political system was hierarchical, was composed of four different sets of spiritual beings. At the bottom of the scale were the living-dead or emizimu (omuzimu, singular). On one's death, one was believed to become a omuzimu. This marked the beginning of a new and mysterious form of existence. The omuzimu which had supernatural powers that it would generally use for the benefit of the family, continued to be regarded and treated as a member of the family.

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1. According to Cohen, the AbaiseIgulu (those of the ekika of Igulu) who were both potters and guardians of a religious shrine on Nsumba island in Lake Victoria, had migrated to South Busoga probably at the beginning of the fifteenth century.
Cohen, The Historical Tradition of Busoga p.112-116.

2. There are similar traditions from other parts of Africa. Some of these traditions are narrated by J. Mbiti. African Religion and Philosophy Frederick A. Praeger. New York 1969, p.97-99.

The living members of the family continued to maintain contact with the omuzimu by regularly performing various rites which would involve offer of food, meat or pouring of libation of beer[1]. It was generally feared that failure to maintain good relationship with the omuzimu would lead to misfortune, sickness or even death in the family[2].

Sickness or any misfortune in the family was therefore often seen as the work of a neglected and displeased omuzimu. Normal conditions in the family would be restored only after sharing a ritual meal between the living members of the family and the displeased omuzimu[3]. The latter would reveal its identity by possessing a member of the family who would talk on its behalf. Alternatively a religious leader could

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1. Mbiti has observed, however, that among most African communities (and this is true of the Basoga) this special relationship between the omuzimu and the rest of the family tends to grow thin as members of the family who knew the dead person also die. About five generations later, there would hardly be any more link between the dead person and the living members of the family.
Mbiti. p.79;83.

2. Lubogo, p. 255.

3. Ibid, p, 258.

be called in to identify the omuzimu[1].

The second category of spirits was known as emisambwa (omusambwa, singular). These were spirits which were not associated with any particular family. But they were believed to live in the wastelands, trees, or rivers. Rev. Roscoe observed, for example, that before a large tree was felled, a goat or fowl had to be killed by the roots of the tree[2]. This was intended to establish mutual relationship with the omusambwa and to express request for permission to fell the tree. This approach was necessary to avoid offending the omusambwa which, when angered, could cause suffering, disease and death.

The third category of the spiritual beings were nkuni spirits. These too were generally called emisambwa. The nkuni are said to have been the spirits of the founders of the various ebika (plural) in Busoga[3].

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1. See p.62-64 for information on religious leaders.

2. J. Roscoe, The Northern Bantu. Cambridge University Press. 1915, p. 249.

3. L.K. Bagimba, "Emizimu, Emisambwa, Enkuuni, Ebisweezi, Balubaale" 1970 paper written for D.W. Cohen. p.9.

The arriving clans in Busoga built their nkuni shrines at the places of their first settlement. The nkuni was regarded as the guardian of the clan. It was known to cure diseases, to bring prosperity, to control fertility of the members of the group and to punish those who committed offenses either against their neighbours or the clan[1]. By the end of the nineteenth century, most of the nkuni spirits no longer limited their services to clan members. Anybody who requested help from the shrine, would obtain it.

This development seems to have been caused by conquest and political domination as the conquered clans would probably be encouraged to worship the nkuni of the conquerors. The second reason is that there was considerable cultural borrowing between the various clans. Cohen has observed, for example, that the nkuni shrine of the abaiseMuhaya at Kazinga had "in more recent times" become a religious centre not only for the abaiseMuhaya but for all those who lived in the neighbourhood of Kazinga[2].

The last group of the spirits or emisabwa were probably the deified early leaders (men and women) of

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1. L.K. Bagimba, p.11.

2. Cohen, Selected texts. Busoga Traditional History. Text 422. Vol:11.

the various communities in Busoga. The most important and powerful divinities were Kintu and Mukama[1] and their shrines, which were found in every state, would be visited whenever there was either an individual or family crisis. The rest of the divinities were departmentalized according to human experience and activities. For example, Nalongo (a female divinity) was responsible for stopping small-pox, plague or fever; while Ingo (Iyingo) was the divinity who attended to the general needs of the people[2].

Although some divinities, like Kintu and Mukama had a shrine in every state, other divinities were not so widely represented. This meant, according to Nabikamba, that if there was a crisis, one would occasionally have to cross into another state to offer sacrifice to a divinity there with a high reputation for effectiveness[3].

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1. According to tradition, Kintu and Mukama were the founders of most of the important states in the pre-colonial Busoga.

2. Rev. J. Roscoe, p. 246.
See Table I for more names of the emisambwa, spirits or divinities.

3. Interview with Nabikamba, 28th November 1971 at Busanda.

The religious leaders who kept the religious system working were not all professionals. The head of a family, for example, by virtue of his position acted as a link between the emizimu and the living members of the family, and could therefore be categorised as a religious leader in certain circumstances. The ruler of a state, who also had certain religious duties to perform, would also fall into this category of (part-time) religious leaders.

In Luwuka, indeed as in other states in Busoga, it was the ruler who provided and ordered the annual sacrifice of a cow to each of the two important emisambwa, Kiloba and Luwuka. The third important omusambwa in Luwuka was called Mugavu and it only accepted the offer of a human being (a young girl). This too was ordered by the ruler whenever the state was threatened by war, epidemic, or drought[1].

Although the ruler has been designated as a part-time religious leader, he generally remained outside the structure of the traditional religious system. This allowed him more room for freedom of action. In

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1. Interview with Nabikamba, 21st November 1971 at Busanda.

the 1880s, for example, Tabingwa of Luwuka is reported to have ordered all the lubale huts (shrines of the emisambwa) to be burned on the grounds that the mediums of those emisambwa told him lies[1]. This was probably expected in a court atmosphere where the well-known mediums or divines would be struggling to gain the ruler's favour. The incident indicated, however, that there was then a religious situation in which new and powerful deities might be eagerly embraced.

The most prominent group of religious professionals were the Baswezi[2] who generally acted as mediums of the various emisambwa. The Baswezi used the spiritual power accessible to them to diagnose the cause of trouble and often some of them also provided a cure. The emisambwa themselves decided who should become omuswezi (singular) by possessing him. If he was young,

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1. Fr. Brard, p.109.
In Buganda where the kabaka also remained outside the religious structure, the kabaka occasionally ordered the raiding and seizure of the property of some of the gods.
J. Rowe, Revolution in Buganda 1856-1900, Ph.D. thesis for the University of Wiscousin 1966. Vol:1.; p.61.

2. It is very likely that the Baswezi in Busoga were related, as Cohen has suggested, to the Bachwezi cult groups in Western Uganda. Cohen, p.23. However, the link between the Baswezi and the Bachwezi cult has yet to be established.

he would be dedicated to the possessing omusambwa until he grew up and was formally initiated into the Baswezi group. He would then be taught by the elder Baswezi the special skills of mediumship[1].

The second group of professionals was the abaigha or "doctors". The abaigha (omuigha, singular) were not possessed by emisambwa but their skills of divination were said to be inherited. If a father was omuigha, his son would also acquire those skills[2]. By using cowry shells or small pebbles, the omuigha, like the Omuswezi, diagnosed the cause of trouble and prescribed a cure. He also made charms and amulets which were worn by people and domestic animals to protect them from diseases and mystical forces sent by one's enemies. In other words the religious professionals helped to restore and improve health of the people in their communities, improved relationship and provided security against evil forces. For these services to the community, they always charged a fee

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1. T. Tuma. "The Baswezi cult in Busoga" Research paper in the Department of Religious Studies, Makerere University. 1966, p.13-15.

2. Ibid. p. 19.

which was paid in kind.

Lastly, and in contrast to the Baswezi and abaigha, were the abalogo or sorcerers. The abalogo were hated and feared since they employed mystical power to hurt and even kill people. Those who were caught in the act of okuloga (verb) or were identified by the villagers as abalogo would be instantly killed by the villagers themselves[1]. It is therefore, highly unlikely that abalogo were ever consulted, as Cohen has suggested, in times of personal difficulty[2].

It is worth noting that the Basoga, like most Africans, regarded everything that happen to them, and their society as a religious experience. If for example, there was any sickness in the family, the attempt to cure it would take on a religious form. The Basoga's religion was, therefore, primarily utilitarian and it had the capacity to expand to absorb new deities and practices in order to continue meeting the utilitarian demand. The Basoga's response to Christianity would, therefore, be strongly influenced by this religious background[3].

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1. This is a well-known tradition in Busoga. It is also backed by Fr. Brard's observation, that a proven "mulogi" would be killed on the spot. p. 108.

2. Cohen, The Historical Tradition of Busoga p.23

3. See, for example, p.132-135.

Islam

A group of Baganda Muslims who were fleeing from the victorious Christian army in Buganda in the 1890s had sought refuge in Busoga. The Muslim refugees included Ali Mwanga, Bwagu, Saleh Mganda (Muganda) and Yusufu Luzige, all of whom were to assume religious and political influence during the early part of the British administration in Busoga.[1] When the Christian missionaries arrived in Busoga they soon demanded the withdrawal of the Muslims whom they saw as a threat to the advancement of Christianity there[2].

It has been demonstrated that the Basoga traditional society was dominated by two types of leaders, the political and religious leaders. However, the arrival of the Christian missionaries, who were shortly followed by the colonial administrators, led to the development

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1. M. Wright, Buganda in the Heroic Age. Oxford University Press. 1971, p.155.
Also Lubogo, p.25.
Yusufu Luzige who is alleged to have circumcised Menya, the ruler of Bugweri, (see p.206) was not listed by Wright, but he was named by Gwandhaye in "Islam in Bugweri", History Graduating Essay 1970/71. p.6. Makerere University.

2. Crabtree's Journal, 11th January 1896. CMS Archives, G3, A5/O.
See p.206-210 for later Christian attack on Islam in Busoga.

of a new religious and political leadership.[1] Access to the new religio-political leadership led to power, prestige and social influence. Some of the Basoga, particularly the bakopi, who in the traditional society hardly enjoyed any social prestige and had slim chances of attaining political office, would find Christianity a useful means of advancement[2].

The new Christian chief played a more active part - at least until the late 1930s - as a religious leader[3] than his traditional counterpart ever did in the traditional religious system. On the other hand, the Basoga church workers who, as already claimed, aided and shaped the process of adaptation, worked jointly with the Christian chiefs to expand the Church[4]. Further the task of organisation and administration, particularly of the Anglican Church, was increasingly becoming a responsibility of the Basoga Church workers[5].

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1. By 1907, (See Table V) the majority of the Saza chiefs in Busoga were Christians (Anglicans).

2. See, below, p.135.

3. See Chapter Four.

4. See Chapter Four.

5. Infra Chapter Five.

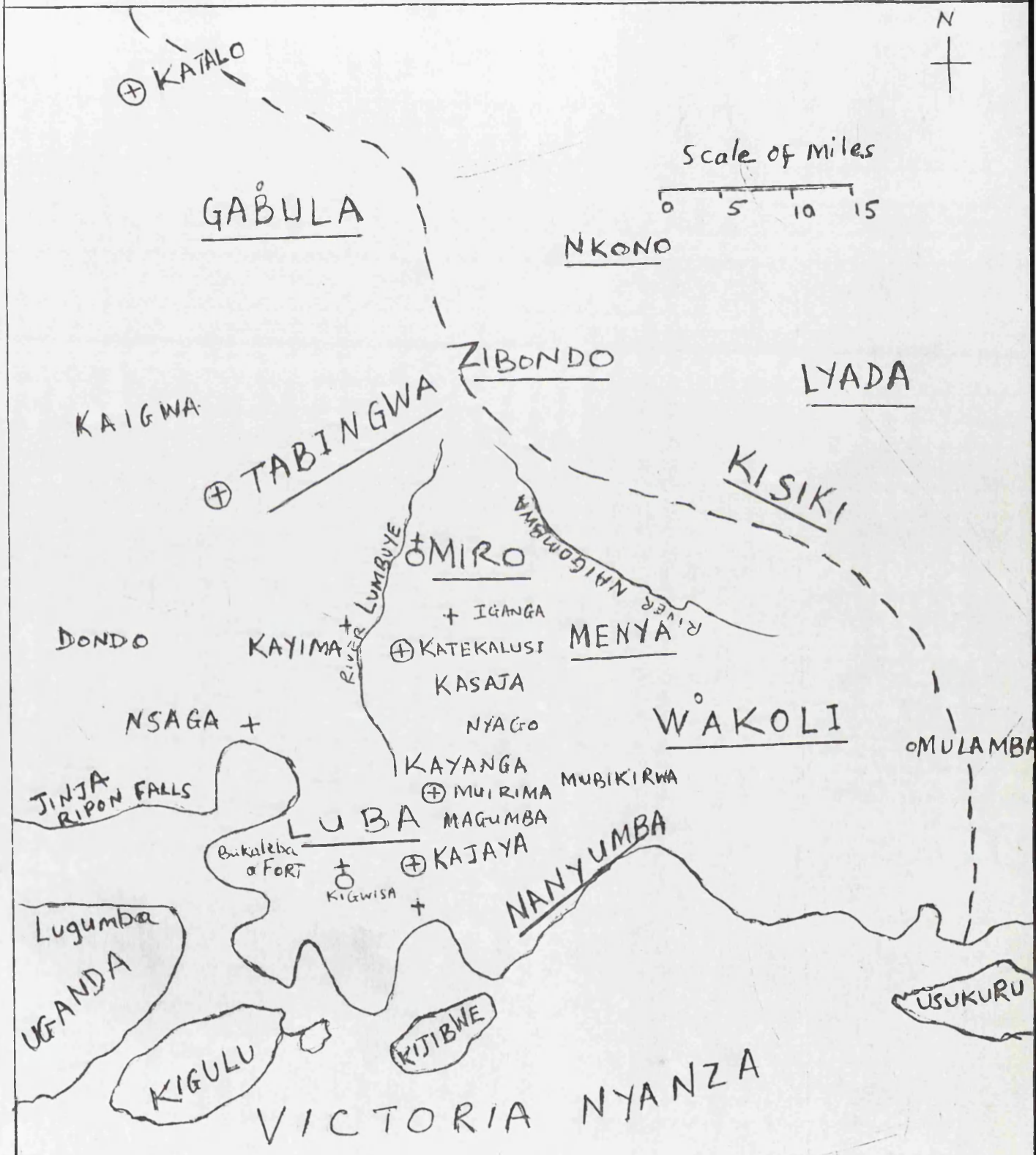
As the Basoga Christian leadership both helped to stimulate the Basoga's response to Christianity and to promote its growth, it was felt that focusing this study on the role and development of the Basoga church workers would help to indicate the general development of the Church in Busoga and to illustrate the actual part which the Basoga church leaders played in this development.

TABLE I

Some of the names of the Emisambwa in Busoga. This list is based on L.K. Bagimba's work, "Emizimu, Emisambwa, Enkuuni, Ebisweezi, Balubaale".

Bulidha	Lwabandha
Butimbito	Mabenga
Buwongo	Meeru
Buziri	Mukama
Dhiraya	Musooma
Gulumaire	Mpungwe
Isegya	Nabaamba
Iyingo	Nabubi
Kalalu	Nabulo
Kaliisa	Nalongo
Kazingo	Nakabangalya
Kazimbakungira	Nalyona
Kibuddi	Namigugu
Kiddali	Nawandyo
Kintu	Nsumba
Kirongo	Obala
Lubaale	Wagologoka
Lumbuye	Waibira
Lukowe	Waitambogwe
Luwalambogo	Waluumbe

SKETCH MAP [MAP. 2] of BUSOGA 1895, DRAWN AFTER the CMS missionaries, ROWLING AND CRABTREE.



KEY

+ Market Places

⊕ Where the CMS had Baganda Missionaries

⊕ " " " " European Missionaries

— The big States and their rulers.

CHAPTER I: THE MISSIONARIES ARRIVE IN BUSOGA 1891-1900

In February 1891, Fred Charles Smith and Cyril Gordon both of the CMS, left Mengo and went to Busoga to open the first missionary station at Wakoli's place[1]. Gordon, who acted as Smith's escort, went back to Mengo after a couple of weeks leaving Smith to carry on the work. In the following month Frs. Brard and Schmier of the White Fathers mission (WF) also left Rubaga and went to Tabingwa's place where they opened a Roman Catholic station[2]. It may now be asked why both the CMS and the WF decided to extend their influence to Busoga in 1891.

Missionary expansion to Busoga should be primarily examined against the background of Christian rivalry in Buganda which partly influenced this decision to extend missionary work to Busoga. The struggle for political power in Buganda between the Muslims and the

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1. Tucker, Vol:II., p.211.
See map 2 for Wakoli's place.

2. Diaire de Sainte-Marie de Rubaga, 11th March 1891, in Chronique Trimestrielle. No:52. October 1891.p.779.
For the location of Tabingwa's place see map 2.
Tabingwa's real name was Nabwana. But he named himself Tabingwa (the invincible) because he was a good warrior. Tabingwa became the traditional title of the ruler of Luwuka.
Lubogo, p.55.

Christians in 1888-1890 had encouraged the CMS or Bangereza and the WF or Bafalansa to work as allies in order to defeat the Muslims[1]. With the latter's defeat, however, the old struggle between the Bafalansa and Bangereza for political and religious dominance increasingly became apparent. The arrival at Mengo of the German adventurer, Carl Peters, in February 1890 and the enthusiastic support he received from the Bafalansa clearly reflected the rivalry and tension between the Bafalansa and Bangereza[2] who were apparently unhappy about Peter's arrival since he represented another European power, Germany.

Captain Lugard, the representative of the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEA,Co.) arrived in Buganda in December 1890 and he observed that the chiefs carried their guns with them as a precaution against eventualities[3]. Bishop Tucker who also arrived in Buganda in December 1890 remarked that Uganda (Buganda) was like a volcano on the verge of eruption. He further

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1. The agreement of cooperation between the Bangereza and Bafalansa was signed in 1889 on Bulingugwe Island. Gordon to Mr. Lang. 18th March 1890. CMS Archives G3,A5/O.

2. Wright. op.cit.p.121-122.

3. Lugard, The Rise of Our East African Empire. William Blackwood and Sons. 1893. Vol:II., p.35.

noted that the Bangereza carried their guns to the Sunday service(s)[1]. In other words the Buganda situation had deteriorated so much that an armed clash between the Bangereza and Bafalansa was thought to be imminent and perhaps inevitable. It was during this period of bitter rivalry, uncertainty and imminent confrontation between the rival parties that the Bangereza decided to open a mission station at Wakoli's place.

In 1890 a rumour to the effect that the Bafalansa planned to open new missionary stations in"Kavirondo" or Western Kenya, had been circulating among the Bangereza[2]. The Bangereza fearing that such a development would lead to extending Catholic influence not only to Western Kenya but also to Busoga, hastily decided to occupy Wakoli's place in order"to exclude the Roman Catholics"[3].

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1. Tucker, Eighteen years in Uganda and East Africa. Vol:I., p.100-101.

2. Gordon to Mr. Lang. 15th August 1890. G3,A5/0 CMS Archives.

3. Baskerville's Journal. 8th January; 9th February 1891. CMS Archives. G3, A5/0.

Busoga, as the scene of the murder of Bishop Hannington[1], had some special significance for the Bangereza. Indeed when he was asking the CMS headquarters to send out more missionaries so that work in Busoga and other areas could be started, Bishop Tucker reminded the headquarters, "Busoga was the scene of the murder of Bishop Hannington"[2]. As the scene of the murdered Bishop, Busoga presented a religious challenge which the Bangereza may well have regarded as their exclusive right and duty to meet.

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1. James Hannington was born on 3rd September 1847, educated at Oxford and ordained in 1874. His interest in foreign missions was first aroused (1878) when he learned of the death of Lieutenant Shergold Smith and Mr. O'Neill (these were among the first group of CMS missionaries to Uganda). Hannington was named head of a group of five missionaries who left for Uganda in May 1882. The party reached Kagai (a village on the southern shore of lake Victoria) in January 1883. But Hannington was forced to return to England due to failing health. In June 1884, he was consecrated Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa. In November he left for Africa. In February 1885, Bishop Hannington visited the Chagga country, Kirimanjaro area. In July he decided to go to Uganda using the eastern route. His party safely passed through the allegedly notorious Masai country. But on 21st October, Hannington was arrested at Luba's place in south Busoga. Seven days later, Bishop Hannington was murdered here by kabaka Mwanga's command.
Dawson E.C., James Hannington. A History of his life and work 1847-1885. London Seeley and Co:, 1887.
See also Tucker Vol:I., p.14-19.

2. Tucker to CMS. (not dated) received 21st April 1891. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

Secondly the eastern caravan route which was increasingly becoming popular[1] passed through southern Busoga. Roman Catholic influence in Busoga, particularly southern Busoga, would probably be considered dangerous to the safe passege of the CMS missionaries. Wakoli's place which the Bangereza decided to occupy had several advantages. It was of considerable importance to the caravan route since it was the first place, in Busoga, where the caravan traffic stopped to rest and to get fresh supplies of food and drink.

Further Wakoli was said to be a friend of the IBEA,Co.[2] Since the IBEA,Co was an English enterprise, the Bangereza assumed that Wakoli would be glad to welcome them[3]. Moreover at Wakoli's place, the

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1. In 1884 and 1885, Joseph Thomson (an explorer) and Bishop Hannington, respectively had used this eastern route and had, as a result, helped to disprove the legend of the fierce warring Masai people. This route was shorter than the southern route across central Tanzania. The IBEA,Co. used the eastern route for all their trips to Busoga and Buganda. This example, was soon followed by the missionary bodies. For Thomson's journey, see Thomson, Through Masai Land. London 1885. especially p.403-449.
See also Coupland, The Eploitation of East Africa 1856-1890. Faber and Faber Ltd. 1939. p.368-370.

2. Wakoli had made a blood-brotherhood contract with the representative of the IBEA,Co., Captain Lugard. Lugard, op.cit. Vol:I. p.369.

3. Gordon to Lang, 15th August 1890. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

Bangereza expected to benefit from the protection of the IBEA,Co's stockade there. But what was even more important was that Wakoli was believed to be the ruler of the largest and most important district in Busoga," thus his influence was thought to be crucial to the growth of the Christian Church in south Busoga[1].

The hurried move to Busoga would not only forestall the Bafalansa's alleged plans to expand to Busoga, at least to south Busoga, but would also help to establish the Bangereza before Islam arrived there. Admittedly a group of Baganda Muslim refugees was already living in Busoga[2], but the Bangereza were only concerned, at that time, with the growing caravan traffic[3] and its

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1. Gordon to Lang, 15th August 1890. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

2. Supra p.65.

3. A typical caravan would consist of not less than two hundred Zanzibaris and coastal people (a majority of whom would be Muslims) who were employed as porters. Gale, Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers. Macmillan and Co. Ltd London 1959. p.94.
Bishop Hannington's caravan consisted of 106 Zanzibar and Mombasa Muslims, 66 Rabai men (coastal men and 54 Kisauni men also coastal people.
Dawson, op.cit. p.391. Some of the Rabai and Kisauni porters may well have been Muslims.

likely influence on the Basoga. Indeed Gordon was quick to argue that "...the Basoga have never been visited by the destructive Arab and coast traders" and that it was important for the Bangereza to occupy Busoga before the "destructive" influences (Islam) arrived[1]. The threat of Islam in Busoga may well have been made to appear even more serious when the IBEA,Co:, stockade, largely manned by Sudanese soldiers a majority of whom were probably Muslims, was built at Wakoli's place at the beginning of 1891[2].

Busoga had several other attractions which the Bangereza used to rationalise their intention to begin missionary work there. Gordon argued that the climate of Busoga was good and suitable for Europeans[3]. He

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1. Gordon to Lang. loc.cit. CMS Archives G3, A5/O. Professor Low has argued that in Buganda, Islam helped to bring an era of change and that this helped to give Christianity its "entrée". Religion and Society 1875-1900. Kampala 1958, p.2.

2. In July 1891, Fr. Brard estimated that there were 100"Wangwana" or African soldiers, manning the stockade at Wakoli's place.
Fr. Brard, p. 109.

3. Eight years later Bishop Tucker who had gone down with fever while touring Busoga described the climate there as humid and enervating.
Tucker. op.cit. Vol:II, p.223.

further observed that there was plenty of food which was cheap[1]. This meant that the pioneer missionaries would not be faced with the problem of either lack or shortage of food.

Secondly the Basoga were said to be intelligent and clothed[2]. To be clothed was indicative of existence of some civilization. As the experience of the European missionaries in Buganda had been that people who showed signs of civilization also showed considerable eagerness to widen their experience by adopting new ideas, it was expected that the Basoga who also had shown signs of civilization, would be receptive to new ideas. Indeed Bishop Tucker in his letter to the CMS headquarters remarked:

> the people (Basoga) are said to be as eager as the Baganda for instruction and their character to be in many respects superior to that remarkable people (the Baganda)[3].

Busoga was, therefore, an area where, it was felt missionary work would easily take roots and thrive.

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1. Gordon to Lang. loc.cit CMS Archives, G3, A5/O.
2. Lugard, op.cit. Vol:I., p.366.
3. Tucker to the CMS, loc.cit. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

It is now clear that the Bangereza's expansion to Busoga was partly influenced by religious considerations, but the decision to occupy Busoga hastily was dictated by the situation in Buganda and the relationship between the Bafalansa and Bangereza. In view of the rivalry between the Bafalansa and Bangereza in Buganda, the latter's extension to Busoga would inevitably provoke some reaction from the Bafalansa.

It will be remembered that Busoga was regarded by the Baganda as their tributary state[1]. Extension of the Bangereza's influence there was likely to win some of the powerful Basoga rulers on the latter's side. This would have the effect of upsetting the jealously guarded balance of political power and influence between the Bafalansa and the Bangereza[2]. Therefore, the Bafalansa reacted to the Bangereza's extension

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1. Supra p.52.

2. The Basoga rulers could be used as allies. For example, During the 1888-90 War between the Baganda Muslims and the Christians, the former had made Luba of Busoga their ally. The attempt to join with Luba's forces was however, frustrated by Mudima's (Mudima led the Christian force) timely interception of the Muslim forces in Kyagwe.
Wright op.cit.p.87.

by opening a Roman Catholic station at Tabingwa's place[1]. The importance of this type of rivalry, whereby one group does exactly what the other group had done, is that neither group grows too strong to destroy the other.

The Bafalansa were further attracted to Busoga because the Basoga, as Bishop Tucker had also claimed, were said to be eager to embrace a new religion. Further the Bafalansa claimed that there was already a small number of catechumens in Busoga[2]. This made it necessary for a mission to be opened there to cater for the needs of those catechumens and to increase their number by recruiting more people.

With the presence of both the Bangereza and Bafalansa in Busoga, one would expect as Bishop Tucker had once remarked, "a similar state of things to that existing here (Buganda) jealousy and strife[3]. Lugard

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1. Supra. p. 70.

2. Chronique Trimestriellle, 11th March 1891. No:52 October 1891, p.779.
The Catechumens mentioned here could have been Basoga who had been to Buganda where they might have come in contact with Christianity or Baganda who had migrated to Busoga.

3. Tucker, 1st January 1891. Occasional paper No:9. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

had also expected "bitter rivarly and enmity" to follow the extension (to Busoga) of both the Bafalansa and Bangereza.[1] However, none of these predictions came true. Although the religio-political struggle of the Bangereza and Bafalansa had been extended to Busoga, Busoga did not then become the scene of "jealousy and strife". This was because the focal point of the struggle was mainly the Buganda capital. This is where the plots and counterplots took place. The concentration of these activities at the capital tended to make Busoga virtually free of tension. Secondly the location of the two rival mission stations was important. The Bafalansa claimed that they went to Tabingwa's place simply because "Le Bon Dieu seul nous a guides'[2], but it seems that their decision to go further north was influenced by the fact that the Bangereza had already opened a missionary station in south Busoga. It may have been thought that by opening a station in north Busoga, the Bafalansa, like their rivals in the south, had a chance to dominate that area.

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1. Lugard to John Roscoe. 20th January 1892. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

2. Fr. Brard, p. 109.

The two missionary stations were about forty miles apart. This had the effect of minimizing tension since there was hardly any contact between the two missions.

Thirdly and possibly more important, was the difference between the administrative structure of Buganda and Busoga. The fact that Buganda was a centralised Kingdom and that both rival groups were determined to influence - let alone convert - the kabaka (king) made competition and rivalry in Buganda much more bitter and fiercer than it would have been had the conditions been different. Busoga, as described before, had many relatively weak rulers. This administrative arrangement made it possible for the Bangereza and Bafalansa to avoid concentrating their efforts on one man to sway him this or that way. Consequently, the possibilities of confrontation between the two rival groups were considerably minimized.

The Withdrawal of European missionaries from Busoga.

On 13th October 1891, Frs. Brard and Schmier received instructions from their bishop, Mgr. Hirth, asking them to abandon their mission "Notre - Dame de l'Espérance", at Tabingwa's and return to Buganda

immediately lest they risked being killed[1]. Admittedly Tabingwa's attitude to the missionaries had changed after he had realised that the missionaries would not help him fight the various inter-state wars he was frequently involved in[2], but there is no evidence to suggest that he planned to kill the European missionaries at his place. Also the missionaries were occasionally harassed by thieves but this, in spite of Lugard's remarks, "...the French mission had already long been abandoned, because of the thieving and hostile propensities of the natives"[3], did not necessarily threaten the lives of the missionaries. It seems therefore, that in order to understand why Mgr. Hirth ordered the mission to be abandoned, one has to look again at the situation in Buganda.

The situation in Buganda had been deteriorating rapidly. The main problem was that the 1890 settlement which divided the chiefdoms equally among the Bafalansa

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1. Diary of Notre-Dame de l'Espérance,(Busoga). 13th October 1891 in Chronique Trimestrielle. No.54 April 1892, p.235.

2. Diary of Notre-Dame de l'Espérance, 12th August 1891 in Chronique Trimestrielle. No:54 April 1892, p.234. For Tabingwa's initial reaction to the arrival of the European missionaries see p.106.

3. Lugard, vol:ii, p.103.

and the Bangereza could no longer be maintained. The kabaka (Mwanga) had shown that he favoured the Bafalansa more than the Bangereza. This encouraged some chiefs who were formerly Protestants, to become Catholics. This development, the Bangereza feared, was putting the Bafalansa in the ascendancy since some of the chiefs who changed their allegiance either hesitated or refused to give up their offices and lands[1]. The growing tension found expression in the robbing and burning of houses and in the subsequent clash between the Bafalansa and Bangereza in Budu (West Buganda). in 1891. In this clash the Bangereza, it was claimed, lost three men and the Bafalansa lost twelve people[2].

The incident in Budu may well have been interpreted as marking the beginning of the armed confrontation hitherto expected by both the Bafalansa and the Bangereza. As more fighting was, therefore, likely to occur soon, it would be relatively safe if missionaries of the same denomination stayed together while the fighting lasted. It seems that it was this realisation

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1. Walker to Lang, 5th August 1891. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

2. Ibid.

that motivated Mgr. Hirth to recall his missionaries from Busoga[1]. Fr. Brard had hoped that they would shortly return to Busoga[2] but this did not happen and it took eight years before another Roman Catholic Order, the Mill Hill Fathers, began evangelization work in Busoga[3].

It is difficult to assess the impact of the White Fathers mission on the Basoga since the mission lasted for only about eight months. Its contribution to missionary work in Busoga was that the presence of the missionaries had introduced an era of change and may well have provoked a spirit of inquiry among some of the Basoga, thus providing a foundation on which later missionaries built the Church in that area[4].

Smith the CMS missionary stationed at Wakoli's place was also in Buganda when the war between the

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1. Kestens a MHM missionary has also observed that the Frs. Brard and Schmier had to withdrawal "on account of the religious war" (he did not say which "religious war").
Kestens to Rector Rozendaal. 31st October 1899. Annalen June 1900, p. 17-21. Quoted by Gale, p.190.

2. Diary of Notre-Dame de, l'Esperance, 13th October 1891. in Chronique Trimestrielle No:54, April 1892, p. 235.

3. See p.100.

4. See for example, Gale, p. 191.

Bafalansa and Bangereza broke out in January 1892. However, after the war, Smith returned to his station at Wakoli's place in April 1892. In June the CMS, in defiance of the IBEA,Co:'s policy which prohibited further expansion of missionary work in Busoga[1], opened a second missionary station under John Roscoe at Luba's place[2].

Four months after his return to Wakoli's place, Smith had to leave for Buganda again because a porter in his company had shot and fatally wounded Wakoli. Smith was implicated in the "assassination plot" and he very narrowly escaped being killed by Wakoli's retainers[3]. In the same month, August, John Roscoe returned to Mengo due to failing health[4]. Further in October the Finance Committee (the governing body of CMS missionaries in Uganda) observed that there was a serious shortage of missionaries in Buganda and that, in light of that problem, white missionaries would not

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1. Lugard to Roscoe, 16th January 1892, CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

2. Roscoe to Wigram, 18th July 1892. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

3. Smith to the CMS, 11th August 1892. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

4. CMS Annual Reports 1892-94, p.61.

be posted to Busoga for an unspecified period[1]. In February Tucker formally informed the CMS headquarters that Busoga had been closed temporalily[2]. What had happened? Why did the CMS missionaries find it necessary to suspend the work which they had so enthusiastically undertaken in 1891?

The end of the Bafalansa-Bangereza war in March 1892 contributed to the development of a new situation in Buganda. The treaty which was signed by kabaka Mwanga and Lugard at the end of the war allocated the area of Budu to the Roman Catholics while the rest of Buganda, exempting Kitunzi, Katambala and Kasujja which were allocated to the Muslims, was allocated to the Protestants or Bangereza[3]. One of the immediate results of the treaty was to uproot thousands of families who had decided to move to the area that had been allocated to their group. For example, hundreds of Roman Catholic sympathizers were reported to have moved from Kyagwe (eastern Buganda) to Budu and vice versa[4].

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1. Resolution adopted by the Finance Committee. 3rd October 1892. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

2. Tucker to the CMS 14th February 1893. CMS Archives G3, A5/P4.

3. Lugard, Vol:ii, p.439-440.

4. Tucker, Vol:i, p.179.
Aslo Lugard, Vol:ii, p.461-462.

With the shift of the Roman Catholic activities from the capital and eastern Buganda, the missionary field in Busoga was left almost entirely in the hands of the Bangereza. With the removal of serious rivalry and competition, the CMS could safely suspend posting European missionaries to Busoga.

Secondly the arrival in 1893 of the British envoy, Sir Gerald Portal helped to ease some of the anxieties which many of the missionaries had had for the previous couple of years. Sir Gerald hauled down the IBEA,Co. flag on 1st April 1893, replaced it with the Union Jack and declared a provisional British protectorate over Buganda[1]. The political situation in Buganda was still shaky. But as the British further asserted their supremacy there, a more relaxed climate in which missionary bodies could organize their development more systematically was beginning to emerge.

As early as 1890 Gordon had envisaged a missionary church which would be centred on Buganda[2]. The following year the CMS missionary strategist, George Pilkington echoed the same idea when he claimed,

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1. Marsh and Kingsnorth. An Introduction to the History of East Africa. Cambridge University Press, 3rd edition 1966, p.140.

2. Gordon to Lang, 15th August 1890. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

> Buganda ought to be the centre of African Christianity, sending the messengers of peace east and west, north and south. We have here, I believe, the fulcrum by means of which to work....[1].

With the improving political situation in Buganda, the CMS began to concentrate their efforts there[2] since there had to be better organization, consolidation and growth in the Buganda Church before she could send out "the messengers of peace" to the neighbouring countries.

The Baganda missionaries in Busoga and the Restoration of the CMS European missionaries.

The information about the Baganda missionaries in Busoga is extremely scanty as they do not seem to have kept any records and their European colleagues seldom wrote anything about them or their work. Fr. Brard and Schmier were, for example, assisted by two Baganda catechists[3] but hardly anything else is known - not even their names - about these catechists. Also Smith

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1. Hartford-Battersby, Pilkington of Uganda. Marshall Brothers (n.d) p.146.

2. For example, two new CMS stations were opened in Buganda in 1893 (following the temporary closure of Busoga) at Ziba in Kyagwe and in Singo (north west Buganda). Tucker to the CMS. 14th February 1893. CMS Archives, G3, A5/P4.

3. Reference was made to "two Baganda catechists". Diary of Notre-Dame l'Esperance, 12th August 1891 in Chronique Trimestrielle, No:54. April 1892, p. 234.

was assisted by at least two Baganda evangelists whose names, except in one case[1] remain unknown. However, with the withdrawal of the European missionaries, the Baganda missionaries gradually emerged out of obscurity.

Shortly after Roscoe's departure from Luba's place or Kigwisa, the Church council at Mengo posted Yokana Mwira, a Muganda catechist, at Kigwisa to fill the place vacated by Roscoe[2]. Another well known Muganda missionary who arrived in Busoga at this time (1893)

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1. Baskerville, referring to Smith's report, recorded that Timoteo had visited a subchief, Wakaba who was anxious to get teachers.
Extract from Baskerville's Journal, 6th May in Church Missionary Intelligencer,Vol:xvii, 1892, p.104.
It seems that Timoteo's second name was Nkangi.
Taylor has a brief biographical account of a Timoteo Nkangi who was attached to the Anglican mission from 1887; helped Cyril Gordon with translation work, acted as a pioneer evangelist in Budu and Kyagwe.
Taylor, op.cit. p.270-271.
Although Taylor did not mention any connection between Nkangi and Busoga, as a pioneer evangelist (Nkangi) and a friend of Gordon who had accompanied Smith to Busoga, it is likely that Smith and Taylor were referring to the same person.

2. Yokan Mwira was one of the Rev. O'Flaharty's first pupils. He was baptised with his wife in 1884. In 1893 he was ordained a deacon. He then worked at Mityana (Buganda) until 1904 when he was transferred to Mengo where he worked for ten years before he retired.
Taylor, p. 270.
Also Ashe, Chronicles of Uganda. Rundolph and Co:, 1895, p.361.

was Yoswa Kiwavu. Unlike his predecessors, whose work was confined to south Busoga, Kiwavu was asked by the Church council to start his evangelization work in north Busoga, at Gabula's place[1].

The Baganda missionaries did not make any converts in Busoga during the period of the temporary withdrawal (1892-94) of the CMS European missionaries mainly because they ran into considerable opposition, particularly from the Basoga rulers[2]. However, by remaining at their posts, the Baganda missionaries played the important role of keeping the missionary field open during the absence of their European colleagues. When the European missionaries resumed their work in Busoga, there had been a continuity of missionary presence which is generally beneficial to missionary work.

Further the Baganda missionaries lived either near or inside the ruler's ekisagati or palace. But the ruler's ekisagati was a place of action. A place where the ruler's subchiefs and many of his subjects

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1. Wilson, "A Sketch of Early Attempts at Evangelisation in Budiope". Uganda Notes. June 1902, Vol:iii; No:vi.p.40. CMS Archives, G3, A7/0.
For more information on Kiwavu see p.109.

2. See Chapter II.

often met for either social or administrative functions. It was the seat of authority and power; it was the focal point which caught - albeit occasionally - the attention of the bakopi. The presence of the Baganda missionaries near or in the ekisagati was something new and it would not go unnoticed. Whatever happened in the ekisagati was very quickly spread around from one person to another in conversations. It is very likely that the Baganda missionaries, by positioning themselves at the only place that mattered, had their cause gradually publicized among the people. Thus the Baganda missionaries' presence in the ekisagati may well have served to introduce the idea of a new religion to a much wider audience than the missionaries were even aware of.

It is not known exactly how many Baganda missionaries worked in Busoga during the period of European withdrawal. It appears, however, that the number of the Baganda missionaries may not have exceeded six, at any given period of time, during the European absence[1]. But by

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1. This impression is based on the fact that in July 1894 there were a total of six Baganda missionaries in Busoga.
Figure announced in the Finance Committee meeting, 9th July 1894. CMS Archives G3, A5/010.

the end of the year (1894) the number of the Baganda missionaries in Busoga had risen to twelve[1]. This was made possible mainly by the new developments in the Anglican Church in Buganda.

In 1893 George Pilkington, who had been spending a short furlough on Kome Island (in lake Victoria), had a revival experience. Pilkington shared his experience with the CMS missionaries at Mengo[2], whom he interested in the idea of holding a series of special mission services to enrich the spiritual life of the Church[3]. In spite of its humble beginning, Pilkington's revival movement quickly gathered momentum and in the following year, Pilkington with the Finance Committee behind him, put the movement to practical use. Pilkington had noticed that Fisher, the CMS missionary in Singo, had built some twelve to fifteen "synagogues" (small reading houses) at short distances from the mission station and had put young men in charge of each of them. The job of the young men was to teach reading

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1. CMI, Vol:xix. 1894, p. 917.

2. The CMS missionaries at Mengo included Roscoe, Miller, Leakey and Baskerville.
Weatherhead, p.42.

3. Ibid.

to both old and young[1].

The "Fisher Scheme" had several advantages. It enabled the mission to reach people who would not otherwise come to the mission station; it helped to minimise the otherwise chronic problem of shortage of staff. Because of the revival he initiated in Buganda, Pilkington had many Baganda Christians who were ready to go almost anywhere to preach the Gospel. He trained them briefly before he posted them to the various parts of Uganda. He therefore, created a bigger indigenous missionary movement in Buganda, whose purpose was to evangelise Buganda and the neighbouring countries. By March 1894, Archdeacon Walker was proudly reporting that they had "native men to send to Bunyoro, Busoga, Toro and Kavirondo"[2]. Indeed more Baganda missionaries were sent to Busoga and by 1900 there were forty-nine Baganda missionaries working in Busoga[3].

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1. Walker to Baylis. 13th March 1894. CMS Archives G3, A5/010.

2. Walker to Baylis. 27th March 1894. CMS Archives G3, A5/010.

3. Tucker, Mengo Notes. December 1900. Vol:i, No:8, p.30. CMS Archives, G3, A7/0.

In the meantime the temporary ban on the European missionaries in Busoga had been ended by the arrival (in July 1894) of the CMS missionaries, Crabtree and Rowling. The resumption of missionary work in Busoga by the European missionaries was rather accidental since it was only ordered after Crabtree and Rowling had experienced difficulties at Sio Bay[1] (western Kenya) where they had gone to open a missionary station. It was decided that Rowling and Crabtree would live at Kigwisa which was to act as the centre for the CMS work in Busoga, but Crabtree was instructed to proceed to Nyiro's place[2] (Nasuti) to look for openings for the development of missionary work in Busoga[3]. However, Crabtree, in defiance of the Finance Committee instructions opened a CMS station at Nasuti in 1894[4].

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1. Crabtree had complained,

> The difficulties of opening a station in Kavirondo seem much greater than we at first anticipated. Hunger everywhere, food has to be bought from long distances. No men to help us as porters or to build for us.

Crabtree to Baylis, 29th March 1894. CMS Archives, G3, A5/O10.

2. See map 2.

3. Finance Committee meeting on 30th June 1894. CMS Archives, G3, A5/O10.

4. Walker to Baylis, 30th August 1894. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

There was a clear division of work between the Baganda missionaries and their European colleagues. The latter worked mainly at the mission station, erecting new buildings or attempting to write the local language. They also visited the various out-stations to see how the work was progressing. But the Baganda missionaries, with the exception of the Rev. Nuwa Kikwabanga[1], who because of the scarcity of European missionaries and his seniority worked in a supervisory capacity[2], were mainly involved in opening up the country by establishing small out-stations. Crabtree's progress report for 1895[3] gives some indication of the work the Baganda missionaries were doing. The report was as follows:

> Gabula's, one teacher - readers afraid to read.
> Tabingwa's, two teachers, one of whom left recently;

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1. Kikwabanga was one of the Christian exiles in Ankole, was widely travelled, went to Busoga as an evangelist in 1894 and was ordained a deacon in 1896. During the Nubian revolt (1897) at Bukaleba, he rescued Weatherhead, the CMS missionary at Bukaleba and hid him in a swamp. In 1901 he was left in charge of the almost deserted Bukaleba (formerly Kigwisa) station. He died of sleeping sickness - possibly contracted while he was working at Bukaleba - in 1905.
Taylor, p. 265. Also CMI. Vol:xxi, 1896, p.745.

2. Baskerville's Journal, 7th December 1898, CMS Archives G3, A7/O.

3. The report is kept in the CMS Archives, G3, A5/O.

two able to read the Gospel.
Miro's (Nyiro), two teachers up till September 18th; when they returned to Buganda. Since then one teacher. 33 able to read the Gospel. Total baptised 9; baptised during the year 7 Baganda and 1 Musoga.
Kajanja's, one teacher - two able to read the Gospel.
Muirima's, one teacher who left at the end of June.

One of the obvious points that Crabtree's report brings out, is that there was a high rate of absenteeism among the Baganda missionaries. Indeed Rowling admitted that frequent abscences of the Baganda missionaries had undermined their impact on the Basoga[1]. Admittedly there was a growing number of Christians[2] but most of these early "converts" were Baganda who were living in Busoga[3].

The embryo church in Busoga further suffered from a shortage of European missionaries. Allen Wilson had joined Rowling at Bukaleba in 1895[4], but the following

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1. Rowling to Baylis, 7th August 1897. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

2. In 1898 there were 51 Christians in Busoga. The following year the number of Christians rose to 112. Proceedings of the CMS 1898-99, p.126.

3. Proceedings of the CMS,1896, p.134-5.

4. Tucker, Eighteen years in Uganda and East Africa, Vol:ii, p.126.

year Crabtree left Busoga on health grounds[1]. In 1897 Rowling also left his post (without permission from Mengo) and went to live with Miss Browne at Gayaza[2]. Weatherhead who had joined the Busoga mission in 1897 had also left for Buganda because of ill-health. This left only Wilson to run the mission. He supervised both the Bukaleba and Nasuti stations[3]. However, with Weatherhead's return (1899) and the arrival of Mr. and Mrs Innes[4], the station began to improve. There was further improvement when Sydney Robert Skeens (Sikiyinza) who was to play an important role in the development of missionary work in Busoga for the next ten years, arrived in Busoga and joined Allen Wilson at Iganga in 1899[5].

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1. Proceedings of the CMS 1896-98, p.134-5.

2. Miss Browne, a CMS missionary at Gayaza, was engaged to Rowling. But the Parent Committee, for some unknown reason, hesitated to sanction their marriage. Rowling's patience ran out. He abandoned his post to join his fiancée.
Walker to Fox, 17th September 1897. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

3. Proceedings of the CMS 1898-1900, p.118.

4. Proceedings of the CMS 1899-1900, p.135-6.

5. Skeens, "Reminiscences of Busoga and its Chiefs", Uganda Journal, Vol:iv, No:3. January 1937, p.186. See also Register of Missionaries and Native clergy 1804-1904, p.390; kept in the CMS library. The former CMS station at Nasuti had been moved to Iganga where the British had built their headquarters for the administration of Busoga.

At the same time, however, the CMS's sole occupation of the Busoga missionary field was ended by the arrival of the Roman Catholic missionaries, the Mill Hill Fathers.

The Arrival of the Mill Hill Fathers.

In September 1895, the first group of five Roman Catholic missionaries[1] belonging to the St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Society founded by Cardinal Herbert Vaughan[2] arrived at Kampala. The MHM - as it is known in this study - went to Uganda at the request of

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1. The missionaries were Frs. Prendergast, ,Matthews, Plunkett, Kestens and Bishop Hanlon, who was the leader of the group and Bishop of the New Vicariate of Upper Nile. Gale, p.88.

2. The idea of building a seminary for the education of priests for Foreign Missions had been discussed by several Fathers since 1863 but had been rejected as impractical. Fr. Vaughan, encouraged by a Spanish Jesuit, Fr. Mendrono, whom he had met while in Spain, arrived at the conclusion that the idea of building a seminary was feasible and he started working towards that end. The foundation stone for St. Joseph's College Mill Hill was laid in June 1869, opened in March 1871 and the first four missionaries of St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Society were sent to the USA as missionaries to the Black people in the State of Baltimore in November 1871. In 1885 the Society sent missionaries to New Zealand (for the Maoris) and two years later to Punjab. In 1895 St. Joseph's missionaries were sent to Uganda. Cardinal Vaughan consitantly suffered from ill-health, though he died an old man at St. Joseph's College Mill Hill, on 9th June 1903.
Snead-Cox J.G., The Life of Cardinal Vaughan (Burns and Oates 1912). Vol:i, p.113-116; 162-167; 445-446. Vol:ii, p.486.

Pope Leo XIII and encouragement of Fr. Livinhac, the Vicar-General of the White Fathers in Algiers. The Pope commissioned the MHM "to take upon themselves the work of evangelisation in the Protestant and heathen part of the country"[1]. The area in which the MHM was going to work was later defined by a Papal decree of 13th July 1894 as the Vicariate of the Upper Nile; covering eastern Uganda and western Kenya[2].

The MHM had the advantage of arriving to find that the ground had already been turned by both the CMS and WF. They were not going to start from scratch. In Buganda, for example, a Roman Catholic population, six hundred strong, turned out to give the new Fathers an enthusiastic welcome. Further Catholic lads were available to teach the MHM Fathers Luganda, and the WF handed over to them two catechumenates the former had started. Also the WF used to give the new mission useful advice, supplied them with "trained and zealous catechists" and "well trained artisans"[3].

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1. S.J.A. Summer Qr. 1915, Vol:vi, No:13, p.268.

2. For the map of the Vicariate of the Upper Nile, see Gale, p. 121.

3. Gale, p.110; 126-128.

It was partly these advantages that enabled the MHM - at least initially - to make rapid progress. The MHM built their first station at Nsambya. Ten months after that they established a second station at Nagalama, July 1896. The following year in July, another station was opened at Mulajje or Nkokonjeru by Frs. Plunkett and Buysrogge[1]. The pattern of extension, it seems, was to establish a line of stations from Kampala easterwards. Busoga formed part of the Vicariate of the Upper Nile and the next missionary station, was to be established there.

In May 1899, Frs. Kestens and Van Term went to Bukaleba where they opened the first MHM station, St. Francis Xavier[2]. It is not clear whether Kestens and Van Term were accompanied by Baganda assistants[3]. But the Bukaleba Diary mentions a Danieli, a catechist who had been chased by chief Nanyumba (ruler in S.W.Busoga)

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1. Gale H.P. op.cit. p.137; 150.

2. Fr. Grimshaw E. Some Notes on the Apostolic Vicariate of the Upper Nile 1895-1945. p.24. Hand-written Manuscript; Mill Hill Archives.

3. The first definite record of Baganda Roman Catholic catechists going to Bukaleba (Busoga) appears in Kampala Diary 1901. The Group consisted of Noa Bangabogera, Mikaeli Bwadene, and Paulo Kukulakulimuki. Kampala Diary, 25th June 1901. Mill Hill Archives.

from his ekisagati[1]. Thus indicating that some Roman Catholic Baganda - at least one - were at work helping the MHM to evangelize the Basoga.

The arrival of the MHM does not seem to have caused undue excitement among the CMS missionaries in Busoga. In fact there were signs of cooperation and friendship between the CMS and MHM European missionaries at Bukaleba[2]. This does not mean that competition and rivalry had ceased, but it indicates a lack of the bitterness and enemity which had characterised the Protestant-Roman Catholic relationship in Buganda.

The missionary extension to Busoga had been undertaken before the CMS and WF were ready for it, and missionary work in Busoga initially suffered from the effects of unpreparedness of both missions. However, the improving political situation in Buganda and the revival experience in the Anglican Church there were increasingly making planned missionary expansion possible. The Busoga extension benefited from these

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1. Bukaleba Diary, April 1900. Mill Hill Archives.

2. The Bukaleba Diary has the following entries: April 6th 1900. Invitation for lunch at the CMS Mission. April 7th 1900. Van Term Sick - Mr. Innes of CMS offered help. Bukaleba Diary, Mill Hill Archives.

developments as more missionaries, both Baganda and Europeans were posted to Busoga. The arrival of the MHM missionaries further increased the missionary personnel in Busoga and restored competition and rivalry in the Busoga missionary field. The growing invasion of Busoga by the missionaries, let alone the administrators, would inevitably provoke some considerable reaction from the Basoga.

CHAPTER II: THE METHODS OF EVANGELIZATION AND THE REACTIONS OF THE BASOGA 1891-1914.

It is common that missionary incursion into a new field is initially resisted by the people the missionaries wish to evangelize. The initial resistance, however, fades away gradually as some of the local people get "converted" and others become indifferent. Although this pattern of missionary experience is common, the factors responsible for causing it tend to vary from place to place. The initial reaction of the Basoga to the introduction of missionary influence falls into the common pattern, initial resistance followed by "conversion". But what were the factors responsible for this development?

The political situation.

It has been indicated in the previous chapter that both the MHM and CMS followed a policy of approaching the ruler of a particular state first[1]. This policy suited the Basoga rulers who were generally on the look-out for new allies, preferably powerful allies, to ensure their political survival in a rather an unstable political situation[2].

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1. Supra, p. 70;90.

2. Supra, p. 52-53.

Most of the Basoga rulers had made alliance arrangements with the kabaka's government. However, sometimes the Baganda ignored the interests of some of their Basoga allies. For example, Lubogo remarked,

> The first chief who would ask the Kabaka first for military assistance would inevitably defeat his enemy but then the vanquished would also present his case to the Kabaka, who would inconsistently assist him to defeat the previous victor[1].

In other words being on good terms with the kabaka's government did not necessarily insulate one against either princely secession, inter-state war or invasion from Buganda. Therefore, a situation remained in which a seemingly powerful and reliable group of people(s) would be welcomed by some of the Basoga rulers as possible allies.

For example, when he arrived at Wakoli's place in December 1890, Captain Lugard observed that Wakoli showed the utmost fear of kabaka Mwanga and the Baganda. Wakoli who, in March, had made a treaty with Jackson and Gedge[2], also established a blood brotherhood relationship with Lugard. Further Lugard made several treaties with many of the Basoga rulers in South Busoga[3].

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1. Lubogo, op.cit.p.7.
2. Jackson, Early Days in East Africa, London, Edward Arnold and Co: 1930. p.253.
3. Lugard, Vol:i, p. 369-370.

To Wakoli and the rest of the Basoga chiefs who had signed treaties with Lugard, the latter was seen, it appears, as a new alternative to the unreliable alliance arrangements with the Baganda. As Lugard represented the IBEA,Co:, the company's power could be counter-balanced against that of the Baganda. Moreover, the new ally would not only ensure one's political survival but would also help to enhance one's prestige. Further one could use the new powerful ally to gain new territory. Indeed in his campaign for territorial expansion, Wakoli is said to have received military assistance from his new ally, the IBEA,Co:.[1]

In 1891 when Smith arrived at Wakoli's capital to open a mission station there, Wakoli, who apparently did not make any distinction between European missionaries and representatives of IBEA,Co, received Smith as his ally and he was displeased when Smith failed to give him any military assistance[2]. Also Fr. Brard claimed that Tabingwa had been very pleased with their arrival at his

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1. Diary of Notre-Dame de l'Esperance, 12th August 1891 in Chronique Trimestrielle. No:54 April 1892. p.234. Also Gordon to Lang, 15th August 1890. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

2. Roscoe to Wigram, 18th July 1892. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

capital because he thought that the two priests would bring him riches, power and progress; that he would then become a friend of the Baganda where the white people were already powerful[1].

In other words, for Tabingwa the arrival of the European missionaries was regarded as the arrival of a useful ally. He had a hut built (near his ekisagati) for the priests[2], provided them with food, declared his intension to start attending catechism classes, and ordered his sub-chiefs and subjects to do the same[3]. This initial popularity did not last long. Soon Tabingwa discovered that the priests were not the kind of ally he wanted since they could not go to war with him[4]. Therefore, he became somewhat unfriendly and he is alleged to have stopped his subjects from either attending the

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1. Chronique Trimestrielle, 19th July 1891. No:53,p.109.

2. In Busoga, as in Buganda, the missions did not establish "Christian villages" - this had been done on the East coast and in Central Africa - for fear of exciting the jealousy of the rulers. There had been also a growing awareness of the serious limitation of this approach to evangelization work.
For a more detailed account on the "Christian villages" see Oliver, p.50-65.

3. Chronique Trimestrielle, No:53, p.110.

4. Supra, p. 82.

catechism classes or selling the priests food[1].

The Baganda missionaries did not share the initial popularity which their European colleagues enjoyed in Busoga. On the whole the Basoga mistrusted, hated[2] and feared the Baganda or any foreigners for that matter[3]. Some of the Basoga rulers showed their dislike for the Baganda missionaries. Tabingwa is said to have refused them permission (August 1891) to stay on his personal estates because the Baganda had killed his grandfather[4]. Also Wakoli forbade his subjects

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1. Diary of Notre-Dame de l'Espérance, 28th August 1891, in Chronique Trimestrielle, No:54, p.234.

2. The Basoga's dislike for the Baganda was noted by both the European missionaries and administrators. They attributed the hatred to both the tribal differences and the bitter past relationship between the Basoga and the Baganda.
CMI. Vol:xxvii. 1903,p.527.
See also Sub-Commissioner (Busoga) to Deputy Commissioner (Entebbe), 25th June 1908. SMP. 106/08. Entebbe Archives.

3. Some of the early European missionaries to Busoga complained about the Basoga's habit of running into hiding on seeing a European missionary.
Skeens, Mengo Notes, December 1901. Vol:ii No:8, p. 92. CMS Archives. G3, A7/O.

4. Diary of Notre-Dame de l'Esperance, 12th August 1891, in Chronique Trimestrielle, No:54, p.234.

to sell food to the Baganda missionaries[1], while Luba "starved" those in his ekisagati. Indeed they were saved by Nabeta, Luba's son who, apparently in secret, used to offer them food[2].

In spite of their dislike for the Baganda missionaries, Luba and Wakoli tolerated the presence of the Baganda missionaries in their ebisagati. Luba did this because he may well have feared that the expulsion of the Baganda missionaries would give the Europeans the excuse to invade his country to avenge the murder of Bishop Hannington. However, Wakoli, who was already on good terms with the Europeans may have tolerated the Baganda missionaries to avoid overstraining his relationship with the Europeans.

By and large, the Basoga initially saw the Baganda missionaries as their old enemies who had to be avoided. For example, Baskerville complained that although the

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1. Roscoe to Wigram, 18th July 1892. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

2. Baskerville's Journal. 4th July 1894. CMS Archives, G3, A5/O.
It is not known whether Nabeta was later baptised, but Innes had remarked in his 1900 report, "A chief called Nabeta a reader and regular attendant of Sunday services has been put to considerable trouble by Luba and wants to turn him out".
Extracts from Annual Letters, p.212.

Baganda evangelists had been at Luba's for eleven months, nobody had gone to be taught[1]. Further in north Busoga, in Gabula's ekisagati Yoswa Kiwavu, a Muganda missionary, who had arrived in Busoga in 1894 to begin missionary work there, ran into a barrage of mistrust, hatred and suspicion. He was accused of causing the death of Gabula in 1894. The following year he was again accused of witchcraft because he had buried a dead hyena. Kiwavu was so disillusioned by the Basogas' lack of confidence in him and their frequent accusations of witchcraft that he decided to go back to Buganda in July 1895[2]. For quite sometime, therefore, the Basoga were suspicious of the missionary activities of the Baganda and the former kept their distance until they were convinced that the warriors had become preachers of peace.

In April 1892 Captain Williams of the IBEA,Co;, led an army comprised of both Ganda and Sudanese soldiers, to quell local unrest in Busoga. One of his important engagements in Busoga was "to reinstate a

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1. Baskerville's Journal. 4th July 1894. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

2. Wilson A. "A Sketch of the Early Attempts of Evangelization in Budiope, Busoga". Uganda Notes, June 1902, Vol:iii, No:6, p.40. CMS Archives G3,A7/O.

man named Miro"[1]. Nyiro who had been in captivity for thirteen years brought many of his Baganda friends with him; he appointed some of them chiefs; he spoke only Luganda and it is alleged that he was contemptuous of the Basoga and their language[2]. Nyiro's restoration may have initially harmed the Baganda missionary efforts in Busoga because it appeared to introduce more of the hated Buganda dominance and presence in Busoga. Secondly, many people who lost office and privileges as a result of the restoration may have worked to intensify the Basogas' hatred for the Baganda.

Among the Baganda that Nyiro brought with him was a Muganda catechist named Maliko Kagwa[3]. Whether Nyiro

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1. Lugard F.D. op.cit. Vol:ii, p.510. Miro's real name was Nyiro. According to tradition, his name was changed, because the Baganda, his captors, found it difficult to pronounce the syllable, "Nyi". His second name was Kikere. In Busoga he was known as Kanyhwamusai (one who drinks blood) Nyiro was Walusansa's (the Ngobi) elder son who was made to drink the blood (supra, p.53, footnote 4) of his murdered father by the Baganda raiders. The incident occurred in 1879. Lubogo Y.K. op.cit. p.35.

2. Lubogo, p.36.

3. Baskerville's Journal, 11th July 1894. CMS Archives G3, A5/O. The contribution of the Baganda community (numbered about 200) at Nyiro's place to the growth of the embryo Church in Busoga is discussed on pages 128-129.

was instructed to take Kagwa by the Baganda Christian chiefs, the European missionaries or the officials of the IBEA,Co;, remains an unanswered question. It is possible however, that Nyiro acted on his own initiative. Nyiro, it must be remembered, was a Muganda in all tastes[1] and he attempted to build in Busoga the exact model, in terms of structure, spirit and culture, of a big Muganda's court[2]. By 1892 abasomesa (catechists or teachers) were becoming a common feature in many of the courts of the big Baganda chiefs. To reproduce the exact replica of the Baganda chiefs' court life, Nyiro brought omusomesa with him.

In 1894 Tabingwa Nabwana who, three years before had dismissed the Roman Catholic Baganda missionaries from his land, asked the CMS to send abasomesa to his ekisagati[3]. Tabingwa's example was followed two years later by another important northern ruler, Zibondo Kisira who also asked the CMS to send him abasomesa[4].

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1. Hall, Through my Spectacles in Uganda, CMS 1898,p.43.

2. Baskerville's Journal, 12th July 1894. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

3. Finance Committee sitting on 9th July 1894. CMS Archives, G3, A5/O10.

4. Wilson to Baylis, 21st March 1897. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

There are two possible reasons which help to explain why Tabingwa and Zibondo had applied for abasomesa.

In spite of the rather hostile reception which Nyiro's restoration had received, Nyiro's prestige and power was soon on the ascent. This was mainly because Nyiro was on good terms with the powerful Europeans and the Baganda, particularly those in his ekisagati, who were increasingly associated with progress and modernity since many of them were literate[1]. Thus Tabingwa's and Zibondo's applications for abasomesa may well have been influenced by the desire to boost their prestige and power.

Secondly with the gradual absorption of Busoga into the Protectorate declared over Buganda in 1894, the British presence was increasingly becoming a living reality to many of the Basoga rulers. In these circumstances, omusomesa who had literary skills, would be useful to help the ruler understand the new world that was invading the latter's traditional world.

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1. Interview with Nabikamba, 21st November 1971 at Busanda.
See p.96 for the number of literate people in Nyiro's ekisagati in 1895. Skeens claimed that when he was restored, Nyiro could read the New Testament. "Reminiscences of Busoga and its chiefs". Uganda Journal, Vol:iv, No:3, January 1937, p.191.

There were further requests from other Basoga rulers for abasomesa, particularly after the Sudanese revolt in 1897.[1] This was because when the Sudanese revolt broke-out, all the important Basoga rulers were ordered by their new masters, the British, to lead their armies to Bukaleba in defence of the British supremacy against the Sudanese[2]. While at Bukaleba, the rulers met and made friends with the European missionaries who were quick to convince them that they needed to have abasomesa in their ebisagati[3].

Secondly, and more important, it was becoming increasingly important for the Basoga rulers to demonstrate their allegiance to the British. William

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1. In September 1897 the Sudanese troops (under major Macdonald) dissatisfied with their conditions of service, revolted in Kenya and retreated to Uganda. The Sudanese garrison at Bukaleba welcomed them. Thus placing the Bukaleba fort into the hands of the rebels.
Ingham, A History of East Africa, Longmans, 3rd edition 1965, p.184.
Wilson, op.cit.p.41.

2. Lubogo, p.198.
See also Major Macdonald to the Marquess of Salisbury 12th November 1897, Confidential Prints, East and Central Africa, No:26.

3. Wilson, op.cit.p.40.
Also Kestens to Fr. Aelen, Rozendaal, Annalen, March, 1898, p.794. Quoted by Gale, p.165.

Grant who had been appointed officer in charge of Busoga in September 1893[1] was known to depose rulers whose loyalty he doubted. For example, in 1894 Grant deposed Kayanga, a small ruler in south Busoga, because he was alleged to be against European control. In April 1897 Grant penetrated north east Busoga where his army fought against Nkono's army[2]. Grant's display of military and political power had a warning effect on the rest of the Basoga rulers who in response applied for abasomesa on the understanding that being on good terms with the European missionaries necessarily demonstrated one's allegiance to the British[3].

It is important to realise that the request for abasomesa was primarily politically motivated although the missionaries tended to think that the development represented a change of attitude - on the part of the Basoga rulers - towards their work. The missionaries, therefore, expected the Basoga chiefs to act - like

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1. Low, Ph.D. 1957, p.397.

2. Ibid, p.401; 409.

3. The European missionaries had demonstrated their solidarity with the European administrators by fighting on the same side to defend the British supremacy against the revolting Sudanese.

their counterparts in Buganda - as both religious and secular leaders of their communities[1]. But to assume the additional role, of religious leaders, the chiefs had to observe a new social code of behaviour which required them to stop drinking beer and to give up practicing polygamy. However, as the chiefs were primarily interested in political survival rather than religious "conversion", they hesitated to give up polygamy and beer drinking both of which were the main constituents of ekisagati culture and had a political role to play in the traditional administration system[2].

For the sake of keeping on good terms with the European missionaries and administrators, the Basoga chiefs helped the missionaries in various ways[3]. However,

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1. In Buganda, by comparison, all the important chiefs were Christians and some of them offered to teach their people, gathered them for services and encouraged new adherents to come forward; a few of them like Nikodemo Sebwato, the Sekibobo, were ordained deacons.
Taylor, The Growth of the Church in Buganda, p.67-70.

2. Cohen rightly observes that a wide circle of marriages brought prestige and authority to the polygamist. Also the practice enabled the chiefs to increase his range of contacts and support.
Cohen, A Historical Tradition of Busoga, p.10.
Beer was the only social drink availble. A good chief was one who was generous, who provided beer to his sub-chiefs, relatives and bakopi who visited his ekisagati.
Interview with Nabikamba, 8th March 1972 at Kituto.

3. Skeens, "Reminiscences of Busoga and its Chiefs". Uganda Journal, Vol:iv, No:3, p.191.

since they failed to assume the new role of religious leaders, the missionaries often accused them of opposing missionary work[1].

The language policy.

The CMS and the MHM aimed at presenting the Gospel to the people in their own local language(s)[2]. Following this policy, the CMS missionaries, Crabtree and Rowling, who arrived in Busoga in 1894, began immediately printing reading sheets and translating the Gospel in Lusoga. But this language policy was soon faced with problems.

The Baganda missionaries rejected - to the disappointment of their European colleagues - the idea of

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1. When Nyiro died (1899) Skeens, with apparent relief, reported that death had removed one who was the greatest hindrance, though a secret one, to the work of spreading God's word in north Busoga.
Skeens, Extracts from Annual Letters 1899, p.155, CMS Archives.
Also the MHM complained about Tabingwa whom they accused of being against them and forbidding reading in his ekisagati.
Bukaleba Diary. 4th November 1904, Mill Hill Archives.

2. Tucker, Eighteen Years in Uganda and East Africa, Vol:ii, p.213.
See also Bishop Hanlon to the Commissioner (H. Sadler) 15th October 1903. File III, History.
Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.
The MHM started work in Busoga after the CMS had settled the language problem. Hence they hardly experienced the language problems described here.

learning Lusoga. This was so because they expected to work in Busoga for only short periods[1]. Also, as the example of Nyiro indicates, the Baganda despised Lusoga which they regarded as a corrupt form of Luganda. The continued use of Luganda which was rather unintelligible to the Basoga and was perhaps initially interpreted by them as representing Buganda's dominance and this subjection was, as Rowling observed, detrimental to the initial attempts to evangelize the Basoga[2]. Although the Baganda missionaries were teaching in Luganda, the European missionaries continued printing the reading sheets and books in Lusoga. By 1900 they had translated and printed the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. Lusoga books and Baganda missionaries who insisted on using their own language, created a confused situation that may not have been particularly attractive to those who were aspiring to become adherents of the CMS.

Another difficulty was that Lusoga was not one language but two distinct dialects, Lupakooyo and Lutenga. The northerners who spoke Lupakooyo claimed

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1. Extracts, Annual Letters of Missionaries 1896, p.231, CMS Library.

2. Rowling to Baylis, 27th June 1895. CMS Archives G3, A5/O.

that Lutenga spoken by the southerners was not pure Lusoga and vice versa. Indeed the Gospels compiled by Rowling and Crabtree at Bukaleba (south Busoga) ran into this difficulty because the northerners rejected them on the grounds that they were not written in pure Lusoga[1]. As the books did not find an enthusiastic market in Busoga, they failed to sell. The venture was, therefore, abandoned since it was not economically viable[2].

Traditional Religion.

The early missionaries were under the impression that one of the major obstacles to missionary success in Busoga would be the Basoga's strong belief in their traditional religion[3]. But to what extent did traditional religion obstruct missionary work in Busoga?

The clash between Christianity and traditional religion was perhaps inevitable. To the missionaries, Christianity represented civilization and light while traditional religion as for example, the remarks of

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1. Bruton, "Some notes on the Basoga", Uganda Journal 2 (April 1935), p.294.

2. Tucker to Baylis, 10th August 1900. CMS Archives G3, A7/0.

3. Supra, p. 54-55.
See also p. 131.

bishop Tucker indicate[1], represented darkness and the devil. To become a Christian one was required to break one's ties with the latter. The act of changing one's allegiance from 'darkness' to 'light' was achieved by a process that they called religious conversion.

The Basoga, who had hardly had any prolonged previous contact with either the outside world or any of the world religions and whose religion did not require missionaries to spread it, were initially bewildered by the arrival of the religious denominations and the missionaries. The missionaries' teaching which required one to undergo an unprecedented religious experience namely, conversion further confused the Basoga. The immediate reaction to this missionary teaching, varied from fear and anxiety to hostility. One informant, Mwavu, reported, for example, that his grandparents, worried about possible reprisals from the deity, Lubaale, attempted to prevent his father (Lazalo Lubaale) from becoming a Christian because Lazalo Lubaale had been dedicated to the deity Lubaale. He could not, therefore, reject Lubaale in favour of another 'deity'[2].

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1. Supra, p. 55.

2. Interview with Mika Mwavu, 2nd October 1971 at Iwawu (Iganga).
Also Nanyumba one of the principal rulers in south Busoga is alleged to have objected to building a Church because he feared "his Lubaale will kill him".
Innes, Extracts from Annual Letters 1901, p.247. CMS Archives.

Secondly on realising that the missionary religion was monotheistic and demanded exclusively one's loyalty, the traditional religious leaders became hostile because it was feared that that doctrine would have the effect of undermining their power, influence and source of revenue. For example, in 1899 when he visited a traditional religious leader whom he described as "exceedingly wealthy" Weatherhead, was threatened by the former who had a spear in his hand as he advised Weatherhead to leave immediately[1].

Lastly the Basoga, as a whole, were concerned about the social implications of the missionary teaching particularly its attack on the institution of polygamy. Abandoning the latter would necessarily violate the law of inheritance[2] and would harm the polygamist's prestige and social status in his community. Also at stake was the relationship between old people and their juniors. The prevailing relationship was a kind of "master - servant" relationship; in the sense that a junior person tended to accept the advice, guidance and submitted to the wishes of the old people or parents.

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1. Proceedings of the CMS 1899-1900, p.135.

2. "The kinship successor should marry the deceased's wife and become the guardian of his children...." Fallers, Bantu Bureaucracy, p.91.

If a young person became a Christian he was likely to end up as omusomesa working well away from home; out of sight and, possibly, reach of his old parents and relatives. With the result that the junior person would become his own "master" and would therefore, defy the old type of relationship. To prevent this happening, some of the old people tried to discourage their children from becoming Christians by beating them up. For example, when he started showing an interest in Christianity in the 1890s, Petero Lukungu, one of the well-known Basoga missionaries to Bukedi, was severely beaten by his guardian, Bagamba, who feared that Christianity would make "my boy rebel against me"[1]. This type of protest may have occurred here and there in various parts of the country.

It was generally believed, that evangelization would not occur unless there was a showdown between Christianity and traditional religion[2]. In pursuit of that policy, a Muganda CMS missionary, Jemusi Basajjansolo

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1. Canon Petero Lukungu (who is now dead) was interviewed by Bishop C Bamwoze, 16th June 1966. Bishop Bamwoze kindly allowed me to see and use his notes.

2. See for example, Kampala Diary II. 28th October 1901. Mill Hill Archives.

who was working in north Busoga used, as Nabikamba recalled, to seize drums wherever he found them being played during a traditional religious festival. He also moved about the villages burning down amasabo (religious shrines) wherever he found them. Basajjansolo also used to confiscate personal property - especially some goats, sheep and cattle - on the grounds that they wore symbols of "satan" or traditional religion[1]. The confiscated animals were killed and eaten by Basajjansolo and his followers. But, as Nabikamba revealed, the owners were not given any compensation for what they had lost. Nabikamba remembered two other CMS abasomesa, Malaki and Sedulaki who, like Basajjansolo, pursued a similarly aggresive policy when they worked in the Iganga area.

The abasomesa of the MHM also destroyed many amasabo in various sacred places, namely Nyenda hill, Butambito, Waivari and Waitambogwe in south Busoga. At Waitambogwe the sacred pot was broken and hundreds of shells were taken from the shrine. Before they left, the raiders erected the cross, "at the instigation of

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1. As a protective measure against epidemics and thefts some people tied charms round the necks of their goats, sheep and cattle (see p. 63). But to Basajjansolo, and most of the missionaries, the charms were symbols of 'satan'.
Interview with Nabikamba. 21st November 1971 at Busanda.

the European who accompanied the group", at the exact spot where the traditional shrine originally stood[1]. These aggressive methods of evangelization were only brought to a halt by government intervention. The abasomesa, both MHM and CMS who were found guilty of forceful seizure and destruction of property were imprisoned for three months with a fine of three hundred rupees each[2].

Lack of concrete evidence makes it difficult to assess accurately the full impact of the policy of aggressive evangelism on the Basoga. In its favour, the policy may have prompted some Basoga to question the effectiveness of their traditional deities because those who were destroying their shrines were not killed - as the traditional religious leaders had declared - by the frenzied deities. At the same time, however, the high-handed action of, particularly the Baganda missionaries,

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1. Kampala Diary II, 2nd October 1901. Mill Hill Archives. The European mentioned here may have been Fr. Kestens, for the latter boasted, according to Fr. Plunkett, of having burnt deliberately certain Lubaale huts on the property of some chiefs. Kampala Diary II, 28th November 1901, Mill Hill Archives.

2. Kampala Diary II, 28th October 1901, Mill Hill Archives.

may have further alienated many of the Basoga - especially those who had lost their property to the missionaries - from the Christian movement. Also one would expect the traditional religious leaders to exploit the situation by discrediting the missionaries and the missionary movement. Lastly, some of the Basoga may have wondered whether the Baganda missionaries were not in fact Baganda raiders in disguise. In other words the policy of aggression may have made it a little more difficult for the Basoga to accept the idea that the Baganda missionaries were men of peace, and as long as the Baganda's real intention remained unclear, the Basoga tended to avoid them.

It is true to say that most of the early missionaries hardly tried to understand the plight of a people who had not had contact with Christianity before with all its cultural appendages. The problems of change do not seem to have been appreciated and any apparent failure in the missionaries' work was, by and large, quickly and, one may say, wrongly attributed to opposition from traditional religion. Most of the missionaries were so quick to condemn traditional religion that they failed to see the positive contribution of the latter to Christianity.

Traditional religion as described in the Introduction, was not an exclusive religious system. It allowed the Basoga considerable latitude either to adopt or experiment with new deities and spirits[1]. Thus the flexibility inherent in traditional religion may have encouraged some of the Basoga to experiment - perhaps initially - with the Christian "deity".

Secondly - and more important - was the fact that traditional religion like Christianity appreciated Man's finitude and his total dependence on some super-natural power. Indeed one broad-minded missionary, writing anonymously about traditional religion in Buganda, (the same could be said about traditional religion in Busoga) claimed,

> ....in these beliefs of the people, the Gospel has found a fertile soil...their consciousness of unseen powers at once vivid and undefined, made them ready listeners when face to face with a message which crystallised their own unformed creed....Thus the ground was prepared before hand...[2]

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1. Supra, p.60.

2. "The Church Native and Anglican" Uganda Notes March 1913. Vol:14, No:3, p.60-61.
Also Low has suggested that the concept of a supreme God (Katonda)prevalent in Buganda before the arrival of Islam and Christianity provided not a barrier but an opening for the teachers of the new Religion.
Religion and Society in Buganda 1875-1900. East African Institute of Social Research. Kampala 1959; p.3.

Thus although the missionary's understanding of religion and its role in society was not necessarily the same as that of the Basoga, the missionary's work was made a lot easier by the prevailing religious consciousness, which seems to have prompted the Basoga to make positive responses to Christianity.

Reference has been already made to the flexibility of traditional religion which allowed experimentation with several spirits and deities. It was out of this religious tradition that the Basoga responded to Christianity and almost inevitably this religious tradition influenced their understanding and interpretation of Christianity. It appears that to most of the Basoga, accepting Christianity merely meant establishing contact with another "deity". Consequently, those who accepted Christianity could not, at first, see the need to break - despite the missionary demand that they do so - their existing links with the spirit world. For example, when he visited a sub-chief "Katabolusi" (possibly Katekalusi) in Nyiro's country in 1900, Fr. Kestens noted a little temple (<u>eisabo</u>, singular) dedicated to the Gods. Katabolusi was very cooperative, and he offered a piece of land on which Fr. Kestens could build a Church. On discussing with the chief the issue

of his open "manifestation of paganism", Fr. Kestens was displeased to learn that although the chief was willing to go to Fr. Kestens' Church (if it got erected) to pray, he was reluctant to destroy his eisabo[1]. In other words the chief wished as his religious tradition required, to retain his allegiance to the old spirits and deities, while he also experimented with the new 'religion'[2]. Katabolusi's example, represents a typical pattern of response to Christianity by the Basoga[3].

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1. Kestens to Aelen, Rector, Rozendaal, 31st October 1899.
Annalen, June, 1900, p.17-21. Quoted in Gale, p.189.

2. This phenomenon is widespread in Africa. For example, in a recent study of the Ibo's response to Christianity, Elizabeth Isichei has noted that the first generation of Ibo Christians whereas they were 'pious' they also tended to be 'syncretistic'; to practice elements of the old and the new simultaneously with no apparent sense of inconsistency. "Seven varieties of Ambiguity: Some patterns of Igbo (Ibo) Response to Christian missions". Journal of Religion in Africa. September 1971, Vol:iii; p.219.
Also Mbiti in his study of the encounter between New Testament Theology and African traditional concepts with reference to the Akamba, has claimed that the latter whether Christian or otherwise has a dormant (not dead) or active share of beliefs and fears connected with magic, witchcraft and sorcery. (these are aspects of traditional religion).
New Testament Eschatology in an African Background. Oxford University Press. 1971, p.9.

3. Most of the people interviewed admitted that even today, the only marked difference between a Christian and a non-Christian is that the former has a second name (Christian name) while the latter has not.
Examples of advocates of that view: (i) Nabugere S. interviewed on 20th October 1971 at Kaliro. (ii) Kazibira Y. interviewed on 5th October 1971 at Kasolo.

Thus indicating that accepting Christianity did not necessarily have to be preceded by the decline of traditional religion.

Secondly it has been claimed that the Basoga's traditional religion was primarily utilitarian and that this religious background influenced their understanding and interpretation of Christianity. Therefore, to determine the various motives which encouraged the Basoga to accept Christianity, one has to ask, what did Christianity have to offer?

The Bagandas' new image; political and social attractions.

The peaceful presence of the Baganda missionaries - exempting Basajjansolo and his colleagues - helped to introduce in Busoga a new Baganda image, namely that of men of peace. The small Baganda community living peacefully at Nyiro's place also contributed to the growth of the new Baganda image. Further as many of the Baganda there were "readers"[1], their group, after the hard feelings stirred by Nyiro's restoration had died

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1. The term 'readers' or abasomi (plural) or those who read, was more popular with the CMS than with the MHM. The former made acquisition of the skill of reading one of the conditions of baptism (Tucker A. op.cit. Vol:ii; p.151).- but the latter did not, throughout this period (1891-1914).
The CMS baptism candidates were called readers. But the term was also always used very loosely to mean Christians.

down, attracted some Basoga[1] not necessarily to participate in the reading programmes but to admire the new skill. Gradually this process may well have caused the latter to break down both their fears and prejudicies against the Baganda and the new religion.

By 1900, with the exception of one or two isolated incidents of "rebellion"[2], Grant had established firm control over the situation in Busoga. Grant's successor, Alexander Boyle, who was faced with the task of administration rather than establishing British control, employed several Baganda either as chiefs; or, as regents, to fill the positions vacated by the young Basoga chiefs who had gone to the CMS School at Mengo[3]. The Baganda, were employed chiefly because they were literate and were believed, apparently, to be better administrators than the Basoga. Although the kabaka's

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1. By 1896, thirty-five Basoga at Nyiro's place were reported to be able to read the Gospel.
CMI, 1896; Vol:xxi; p.430.

2. Two principal rulers, Nkono and Kisiki were deposed by Grant in 1900.
Low, Ph.D Thesis 1957, p.586.

3. The young Basoga principal chiefs at Mengo included Yosiya Nadiope of Bugabula, Gidioni Oboja of Kigulu, Ezekieri Wako of Bulamogi, Gidioni Wambuzi of Luwuka. They were all admitted in Mengo High School between 1901 and 1910.
Lubogo Y. op.cit.p.27;36;47;55.

influence was diminishing in Busoga as the British further entrenched themselves there, the Bagandas' influence was on the increase. The appointment of Kakungulu as President of Busoga Lukiiko in 1906 further increased both the number of Baganda and their influence and power in Busoga[1]. It was now clear that the Baganda were working in conjunction with the British; that their old image of worriors or ruthless raiders was no longer valid. These political developments had some important repercussions on the growth of the young Church in Busoga.

The Bagandas' new image, in contrast to the old one, tended to attract rather than repel the would-be Basoga Christians. The political power, influence, prestige and material wealth[2] which they enjoyed helped

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1. For more information on Kakungulu and the Baganda regents see Ch.IV.

2. For example, when the Baganda regents Tega and Kasibante were appointed "Collectors of Revenue" in April 1907, each was said to have an iron-roofed house, cattle, and land.
"Usoga chiefs Tega and Kasibante as Collectors of Revenue" SMP. 310/07 Entebbe Archives.
Also when writing about the Baganda chiefs who served in Western Uganda, Oliver observed that they took their relations with them; were clad in cotton Kanzu (not bark-cloth) with European coats and hats; lived like great lords and supervised workers on public projects.
The Missionary Factor in East Africa, p.190.

to distinguish the Baganda - the administrators in particular - as a group of sophisticated, progressive and highly cultured people. One would expect the existence of such a group to excite envy and possibly hatred, but some of the Basoga reacted by admiring and seeking to identify with the Baganda. One way to do this was to learn to speak their language. This was a great relief to the CMS missionaries who because of the problems with their language policy had since 1898 introduced Luganda as the language of instruction and had authorised the use of Luganda books[1]. It was also politically expedient - especially for the Basoga chiefs working under the Baganda chiefs - to speak Luganda for knowledge of Luganda could lead to political benefits and higher social status. The people who were willing and, possibly eager, to teach Luganda were the Baganda missionaries. Evidently the latter used the opportunity to evangelize those who went to them.

Christianity - particularly Anglicanism - was always associated with power and chieftainship. The idea of gaining some political reward on being baptised

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1. Weatherhead, Annual Report in Proceedings of CMS 1898-99,116-117.

was particularly advocated by the CMS. All the people interviewed claimed that as far as they could remember, the CMS had always been known as "Ekirya Obwami" (the denomination out of which the chiefs are appointed) in Busoga. The idea had easily caught on and was readily believed because some of the young Basoga chiefs were being trained in the CMS School at Mengo with the active support of the British government. For example, in March 1904 Archdeacon Walker of the CMS applied for £50 to build a dormitory for Basoga chiefs at Mengo High School[1]. Four days later the Commissioner, Sir Hayes Sadler, authorised £60 out of the Public Works Estimates to be spent on the building[2]. Moreover most of the important Baganda chiefs and regents, for example, Kakungulu, Nikolawo Tega of Kigulu, Serwano Twasenga of Bulamogi, and Salemani Kakuma of Busiki were members of the Anglican Church (CMS)[3].

The interest taken in the chiefs' education is evident and it is indicative of the value that was

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1. Walker to Hayes Sadler, 15th March 1904. CMS, Inward A22, 1900-06. Entebbe Archives.

2. Hayes Sadler to Walker, 19th March 1904. CMS Outward, A23, 1900-06. Entebbe Archives.

3. See also Table V.

attached to literacy in the colonial period. What is not so obvious, however, is why none of the young Basoga chiefs went to the MHM School at Namilyango[1]. It is possible that the British government was happier with the curriculum of the CMS School than with that of the MHM School. Hence it encouraged the future chiefs to be taught in the CMS rather than the MHM School. Secondly it is very likely that the British government, which was probably dominantly Anglican, did not wish to see - especially in light of the religio - political struggle of the 1890s in Buganda - too much political power fall into the hands of the Roman Catholic "converts". Lastly it is possible that the relatives of the young chief would resist taking him to a Roman Catholic School for fear that the young chief would forfeit his chances of becoming a chief if he became a Catholic.

The CMS abasomesa exploited this situation by presenting the MHM as "ekitalya bwami"[2] (the denomination whose members are ineligible for political office). It is important to note that the distinction between the

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1. Namilyango College, a MHM School in Buganda, was opened in (1902), three years before the CMS School at Mengo as a boarding school to teach sons of chiefs. Gale, p.245-246.

2. Interview with Lubogo, on 29th March 1972 at Bugembe.

two (MHM and CMS) was made by the Basoga, in terms of practical benefits and not on theological basis as one would expect. Most of the people who aspired to political offices were, therefore, attracted to the CMS and not the MHM[1]. Another form of distinction between the CMS and the MHM was made on moralistic grounds. The CMS prohibited use of alcohol, but the MHM tolerated it. Hence the CMS was called "Ekinywa Mubisi" (those who drink 'mubisi' - a non-alcoholic drink made out of ripe bananas) and the MHM was known as "Ekinywa mwenge" (those who drink alcohol). The latter attracted a lot of adult people who wished to become Christians and to retain their old drinking habits[2].

The association of Christianity with power (chieftainship) and progress, as is indicated above, affected Christianity by making it one of the most valuable achievements in tribal society. If one became a Christian one necessarily attained a higher social status

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1. Lubogo, for example, had been going to a MHM Catechumenate at Jinja (1906). But when his friends told him that if he became a Roman Catholic he would lose all chances of being appointed a chief, he stopped going to the Catechumenate and he began to attend instead the reading class at the CMS mission in the vicinity. Interview with Lubogo Y. on 29th March 1972, at Bugembe.

2. Interview with Nabugere S. 20th October 1971, at Kaliro.

and was therefore different from the allegedly unprogressive non-Christians. For example, when Yeremiya Mutaka was asked why he became a Christian in the early 1920s he replied:

> As a young man, I gradually realised that my position would not change if I did not go to 'read' (Okusoma). I used to see my agemates who had been baptised were better off in every respect than I was. It is these people who provided the incentive. I decided to go to okusoma in order to look like them. My parents who wished to see that I was different from them also encouraged me to get baptised. With this encouragement, I went to okusoma at the age of fourteen[1].

Further Aloni Mukunya who was baptised in 1908 also revealed that after his baptism everybody appeared very friendly to him, he was given ekitiibwa (regarded with awe) by everybody including the chiefs whom he could then visit as often as he wished[2].

Also the social advantages, for example, exemption from forced labour[3], which the tenants (most of whom

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1. Interview with Mutaka, 20th November 1971 at Nawandala.

2. Interview with Mukunya on 20th October 1971 at Bulago.

3. The tenants on church lands were allowed partial exemption from Kasanvu (compulsory, but paid labour) and were allowed to do Luwalo (compulsory unpaid labour; this labour was used on public projects, e.g. roads and administrative buildings) near their homes. These exemptions were made on the understanding that the tenants on church lands formed a standing labour force for the missionaries (Europeans and Africans).

(continued on the next page)

were Christians) on mission land enjoyed, may have encouraged some Basoga to become Christians, and it also helped to sharpen the difference between the Christians and non-Christians.

The Christian name was, however, the most common "identity card" which was used, as Lubogo observed, to distinguish between the Christian and the non-Christian. The latter, who was ridiculed and despised by the former because he had only one name (surname) which was a mark of un-progressiveness, generally reacted by going to the mission or catechumenate of his choice to get himself a second name (Christian name). The Christian name as a mark of his new identity, earned him ekitiibwa and recognition in his local community[1]. Thus the Christian name - which most Basoga, it seems, regarded as being synonymous to Christianity[2] - conferred on one a new higher social status. Hence the growing popular demand

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Footnote 3 (continued from p.137).
Memorandum to the Governor of Uganda, 19th April 1918; Written by the three Bishops, Willis (CMS) Biermans (MHM) Forbes (WF).
SMP 5368/18. Entebbe Archives.
Also interview with Waibale, on 11th March 1972 at Namutumba.

1. Interview with Lubogo Y. 29th March 1972 at Bugembe.

2. When one became a Christian, the congratulations one received (this is true of contemporary Busoga as well) - took the form, "Isuka kufuna liina" i.e. congratulation on receiving a name (Christian name); Christianity was never mentioned.

for Christian names. Many people, according to Lubogo, who could not stand the missionary training started calling themselves by 'Christian names'[1]. Thus they placed themselves in a position where they could share the social and political benefits with the Christians who were formally baptised.

Missionary teaching and activities.

Reference has been made to some of the missionary methods and approach that discouraged the Basoga - at least initially - from embracing Christianity. But there were a number of points in the missionaries' teaching and activities which helped to attract some of the Basoga to become Christians.

One of the most common and most popular points of doctrine in the early period was the doctrine of salvation. Salvation was understood as the acceptance of Christianity, followed on one's death by going to heaven which, according to Rev. Skeens, was described as a golden place full of mansions prepared for those who believed[2]. Heaven was always contrasted with Hell which was said to be the place where the non-Christians

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1. Interview with Lubogo Y. 29th March 1972 at Bugembe.

2. Rev. and Mrs. Skeens, Reminiscenses of Busoga. 1947, p.110.
Manuscript in Uganda Museum Library.

would go to be burned by an everlasting flame[1]. As the Basoga had a doctrine of life after death in their religion,[2] the missionary teaching, which was taken literally, on that familiar subject, appeared as a real threat to many of them. Hence in order to save their spirits from the dreadful Hell, many Basoga decided to embrace Christianity[3].

The advanced technology of the European missionaries, Rowling's printing press at Kigwisa and the mission house for example, may also have impressed and attracted some of the Basoga to the missionaries. Closely related to the missionary's technology, was the missionary's medical chest. The European medicine was so impressive that it was not uncommon for a missionary who had performed a successful operation to be called Katonda or God[4].

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1. Interview with Bakalinzaki S. on 9th October 1971 at Nawampandu.

2. Supra, p. 56.

3. Interview with Bakalinzaki on 9th October 1971 at Nawampandu.

4. This was Dr. Albert Cook's experience in Buganda. Sir Albert Cook, Uganda Memories 1897-1940, p.50-51 Also Lloyd A.B. had almost a similar experience in Acholi where he successfully operated on a man who had a tumour. Llyod, Uganda to Khartoum, T. Fisher Unwin (3rd impression) 1900, p.93-94.

This was the highest expression of confidence and trust that could be given to an individual. Evidently such confidence and trust was often a prerequisite to "conversion".

In Busoga the medical work started on a low key. The MHM had in every mission a small "chemist's shop" where medicines were dispensed gratuitously everyday[1]. The CMS who had built a small "cottage hospital" at Iganga in 1908[2], had a medical policy similar to that of the MHM[3]. Between 1900 and 1910, Busoga - especially southern Busoga - was devastated by two severe famines called Mugudya 1899-1901, and Mutama 1907-1909[4]. No

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1. Fr. Biermans, "Medical Policy". SJA Winter Quarter 1908, Vol:v, No:10, p.191. Mill Hill Archives.

2. The small hospital, which consisted of two wards, one for women with ten beds, another for men with a similar number of beds and a separate room for Indians, was built with the help of funds collected by Mrs. Skinner Moore in Britain and the Iganga Indian community. Rev. and Mrs Skeens, loc.cit, p.89-90.

3. The only obvious difference was that whereas the CMS's medical work was mainly in the hands of lady missionaries, the medical work of the MHM was - until 1914 when a Convent was opened at Kamuli in north Busoga - in the hands of the European priests. It is doubtful whether the differences in sex affected the Basoga's response to the medical missions.

4. Rev. and Mrs. Skeens. loc.cit,p.116. According to tradition, the 1899 famine was called Mugudya (to chase) because it "chased" people from their homes as they had to look for food outside Busoga; the 1907 famine was called Mutama because that was the name of the grain the government imported from Kenya to help feed the starving Basoga.

sooner had Mugudya ran its course than there was a serious outbreak of sleeping sickness in south Busoga. These natural calamities provided both missions (CMS and MHM) with an opportunity to exercise their medical missions more fully than ever before.

Admittedly the short-term effects of these natural disasters might have been detrimental to the missionary movement in Busoga. Some of the Basoga - especially the traditional religious leaders - may well have exploited the situation by claiming that the traditional Gods were punishing the people to show their displeasure with those who were becoming Christians. Others discredited the missionaries by claining that the sleeping sickness epidemic was caused by a curse which Bishop Hannington had pronounced before he was murdered at Luba's place[1]. The famines and the epidemic also made it difficult for the missionaries to carry on with their normal methods of evangelization because the people were always on the move either looking for food or escaping the dreadful sleeping sickness[2].

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1. This is a common tradition in Busoga. There have been repeated outbreaks of sleeping sickness in the area ever since and each outbreak has animated that tradition.

2. Bishop Biermans, A short History of the Vicariate of the Upper Nile, Uganda, Kampala 1921, p.24.

The long-term effects of the famines and the epidemic did, however, contribute to church growth in Busoga. The principal mission stations and Saza headquarters in Busoga were used as centres to distribute food to the starving Basoga, and all the missionaries volunteered to superintend the food distribution[1]. Before the food was distributed, as Innes revealed, the missionaries generally held short services with those who had come[2]. Thus possibly creating the impression that it was the God about whom the missionaries talked who was helping to keep them alive. The new 'deity' was succeeding where the traditional deities were failing. As a result, many of the Basoga in accordance with their religious background, began to establish connection with the new 'deity'. Indeed Table II helps to indicate that there was a sharp rise in the number of church adherents between 1908 and 1910.

Missionary care and sympanthy was also shown in treating and looking after the victims of sleeping sickness. For example, the 900 patients Dr. Cook found

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1. File, History V 1907-1909, Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2. Innes in Uganda Notes, Vol:ix, No:8; August 1908, p.119. CMS Archives G3, A7/O.

in the Busu hospital camp (two miles from Iganga) in 1907 were being looked after by the government with the help of the CMS missionaries[1]. Also missionaries of both denominations exposed themselves to the disease for the purpose either of baptising those who were in danger of dying[2] or to burn down abandoned huts as a measure to check the disease[3]. This was important because it is very likely that the Basoga interpreted it as an indication of either stronger medicines or divine powers than theirs. Again many of the Basoga would naturally long, in addition to what they already had, to possess the stronger powers.

The Basoga, especially those living in the southern part of the country were badly shaken by the famines and the epidemic. The infested area had to be evacuated. Thus people were forced to leave their homes and obutaka (ancestral land which has always considerable religious importance)[4], to establish new homes in a "strange"

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1. Sir Albert Cook, op.cit,p.257.

2. Fr. Grimshaw tells an interesting story of how Fr. Stam, disguised as a European doctor, visited south Busoga and baptised 300 children in sixty days in 1903.
Fr. Grimshaw, Some Notes on the Apostolic Vicariate of the Upper Nile 1895-1945,p.35.

3. Miss Welsh of the CMS at Iganga is reputed to have been in the habit of going round the disease infested area burning down the abandoned huts.
Jones, Uganda in Transformation 1876-1926, p.94.

4. Supra, p.59.

area. The problem of change and adjustment mounted, one is tempted to suggest, to a traumatic experience. Overcome with distress and uncertainty, some of the Basoga may well have sought refuge under the new "deity".

The usefulness and importance of literacy had been highlighted by both the employment of literate Baganda in various positions in Busoga and the sending of the young Basoga chiefs to Mengo High School in Buganda[1]. Thus it was not long before people realised that literacy, which was a mark of progress, would help them to understand the new era in their history; enable them to get jobs in the colonial government. This would necessarily lead to a rise in their social status. The introduction to literacy was done mainly in the so called "bush schools" of the CMS[2]. The "bush schools" were therefore mainly used as instruments of Christian expansion; to attract thos desiring to learn the new skill of reading, into the Christian community.

Above the "bush schools" there were by 1907

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1. Supra, p.129, footnote 3.

2. As early as 1900 the MHM admitted that they were loosing people to the CMS because the latter's catechists taught reading and writing while their catechists taught only "the prayers and Catechism". These were learned by heart.
"Obstacles to Missionary Work". Report (n.d. and no author) in File D/7/1. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

elementary boarding schools at every CMS mission station for the sons and daughters of chiefs and others who could afford to pay the fees[1]. Here the pupils were taught reading, writing, with some geography and history to broaden their knowledge. The main purpose of the schools seems to have been to remove the would-be chiefs from their traditional surroundings - which were considered evil - in order to "mould their character in high and noble ideals"[2].

The MHM, like the CMS, had elementary schools at every mission station. These schools, like the CMS schools, aimed at shaping their pupils' character according to Christian ideals. So that they, "converts" in their turn, could bring up their children according to the same ideals[3], thus consolidating the Christian community.

The turbulence and uncertainty which characterised the 1900-1910 period in Busoga made it rather difficult, as observed above, for the missionaries to implement

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1. Walker to Baylis, 7th March 1907. CMS Archives G3, A7/O.
For the number of European missionary stations in Busoga see Table III.

2. Bishop Tucker, op.cit, Vol:ii, p.150.

3. "Mission Schools in Uganda". SJA, Winter Quarter 1910, Vol:v, No:20, p.389-391. Mill Hill Archives.

effectively their educational policies. However, by the end of the first decade, it was clear that literacy was one of the most highly desired skills. The Basoga desired it because the literate people were highly respected and had ekitiibwa[1]; the government desired it for it needed to reform the Basoga administration; literate clerks, and interpreters would, therefore, be a great asset. Also the government public works projects and the private companies, for example, the European plantations of which there were eleven in Busoga by 1914[2], would also require literate clerks and headmen. Needless to say, the missionaries needed literate Christians to aid the expansion and sustenance of the Gospel. Thus a situation, in which schools would increasingly play an important role, was beginning to unveil itself.

In reaction to the developing new situation, the CMS and MHM sought and obtained some government financial aid to enable them to provide higher education and more facilities to meet the growing demand for education.

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1. Interview with Mulisi on 6th October 1971, at Igenge. Also it was common for the people to besiege the missionaries with demands like, "Give us a pupil teacher; send us more slates; Give us blackboards". Editorial, Uganda Notes, Vol:4. April 1913.

2. Eastern Province Annual Report 1914-15. SMP 703/15 Entebbe Archives.

For example, the government provided £250 to help the CMS meet the cost of building the sons of chiefs school, "Busoga Balangira (princes) School" or Balangira High School, at Kamuli in 1911. A further annual grant of £100 was given to the school to enable the latter to award scholarships to intelligent boys who could not, however, afford to pay the fees, 40 rupees per year[1]. The CMS applied for a further £200 to develop the girls' day school at Iganga into a girls' boarding school for the chiefs' daughters[2]. But this application was turned down. However, the girls' day school at Iganga which had been used as an orphanage during Mutama, continued to be ran as an elementary boarding school until 1917 when it was promoted to the rank of a High School, Buckley High School, for the daughters of chiefs[3].

The MHM did not receive similar government help but

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1. "Schools for Boys and Girls in Busoga". SMP. 1575/08. Entebbe Archives.
Also Gill's first annual report on The Busoga Balangira School. Nairobi (Standard P and P Works) 1911, p.4; in the CMS Archives, G3, A7/0.

2. "Schools for Boys and Girls in Busoga", SMP, 1575/08. Entebbe Archives.

3. Ebifa mu Buganda, April 1917, No:123,p.70.
Also interview with Mrs. Sala Byansi, 21st October 1971, at Butongole. Sala was an orphan in the school in 1909.

this was because they did not ask for financial help until 1912 when Fr. Matthews requested the government to give scholarships to Namilyango[1], the MHM high school in Buganda. However, the MHM - drawing heavily on their own resources[2]- were able to respond to the developing demand for education by introducing reading in their "village schools", opening a Convent at Kamuli and a high school for the sons of chiefs at Budini in 1914[3].

Industrial or technical education was also introduced by both the CMS and MHM. The CMS had a technical school at Iganga which was originally started (1909) to train the boys left as orphans after the famine, Mutama. But the school was increasingly used to make church and school furniture for the other mission stations,

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1. Matthews to Wallis, 27th November 1912. ESA. 2227. Quoted by Carters, Education in Uganda 1894-1945, Ph.D for the University of London, 1967, p.61.

2. During 1910-1912, the MHM spent about £2,000 on its schools (in the Upper Nile Vicariate). Government aid for the same period totalled £300. Biermans (Bishop) to the Chief Secretary, 27th December 1912. File IV, copies of letters in the Mill Hill Archives.

3. Ibid.
See also Louis, M. Love is the Answer, the story of Mother Kevin. Fallons, 1964, p.83.

in eastern Uganda[1]. By contrast, the MHM had a technical class at each of their four mission stations. The objective of the MHM was to meet the demand for artisans and "to instil habits of industry into the native mind"[2].

Table II helps further to illustrate the growing popularity of the schools. Between 1910 and 1912, for example, the number of pupils in the CMS Schools more than doubled while those in the MHM more than tripled. It was this increasing popularity of Christianity, education and literacy that was mainly responsible for the development of what the CMS missionaries described as "a mass movement on the part of the Basoga to Christianity"[3]. However, as Table II indicates, the number of Christians and catechumens of both the CMS and MHM was still small and could hardly be described as a "mass movement". But it seems that the idea of a "mass movement" was used to highlight the missions' problem of inadequate staff. Secondly it indicated the end of the pioneer period in

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1. Proceedings of the CMS 1916-17, p.44.

2. Biermans to the Chief Secretary, 27th December 1912. File IV, Copies of Letters in the Mill Hill Archives.

3. Buckley, Letters from the Front, 1911, p.90. CMS Library.

which the missions had had very little positive response from the Basoga. The subsquent period would be increasingly characterised by the Basoga's enthusiastic response to missionary activities and general awakening to new values.

The Basoga's initial opposition to missionary work in Busoga was provoked by some of the missionary methods of evangelization. Secondly, and more important, the initial opposition was intended to defend the traditional world which had been threatened by the advent of Christianity. However, with the growing British control and the realization that the missions were a channel to new sources of power, influence and security, the initial hostility from the Basoga rulers and their subjects steadily disappeared. Thus marking the beginning of a new period of popular missionary support and expansion.

TABLE II. The Growth of the Church in Busoga before the first World War.

The statistics for the CMS were obtained from the Proceedings of the CMS, while those of the MHM were obtained from the St. Joseph's Advocate. These statistics may not be very accurate as some people may have been counted twice, as church adherents and as pupils in the schools. Also the system of counting and recording may have been unrealiable, especially in the remote villages. The value of these statistics is, however, that they help to give a rough indication of the rate of growth of the church membership and adherents in Busoga during this period.

	CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY		MILL HILL MISSION	
Year	CMS Adherents	Children at School	MHM Adherents	Children at School
1900	57			*
1902	538	30		*
1904	806	1039	407	92
1906	1198	2039	1400	206
1908	1767	758	*	75
1910	2391	3450	2661	599
1912	5363	8068	3490	1942
1914	6853	5136	3710	2564

* Figures not available.

TABLE III. The European Missionary stations founded during the period 1900-1914.

Year	Name of the station[1]	Missionary body
1901	Kamuli	MHM; CMS
"	Iganga	MHM
"	Jinja	CMS
1903[2]		
1904	Jinja	MHM (had a catechumenate in Jinja under a Muganda catechist since 1901)
1907	Budini	MHM; CMS

1. For the location of the stations see Map.3. on P.260.

2. Bukaleba (Luba's) was abandoned by the CMS because of the outbreak of sleeping sickness in south Busoga. The following year, the MHM were also forced to abandon Bukaleba. (St.Francis Xavier).

CHAPTER III: THE EMERGENCE OF THE BASOGA PROFESSIONALS 1891 - 1918

The recruitment of the Basoga professionals was undertaken to meet the demands of the growing and expanding Busoga Church. Throughout this period (1891-1918) the Basoga professionals could be classified as catechist (omusomesa, singular) and schoolmaster (omusizi, singular). Towards the end of the period one is able to recognise at least two important developments. First there was the growing gulf between the catechist and the schoolmaster which threatened to wreck the otherwise informal catechist - schoolmaster "alliance". Secondly, there was, especially in the Anglican Church, greater involvement on the part of the Basoga professionals into the activities of their Church, culminating in the ordination of the first Musoga, Nasanairi Wabuleta, as a deacon in May 1918[1].

Recruitment and Training of the Basoga Professionals

The initial steps to train the Basoga to work as catechists in the Church were taken by the Rev. H.W.

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1 Church Missionary Review 1918 p.384

Weatherhead[1] in 1899 when he opened a catechists' class at Bukaleba CMS station with only two pupils[2]. The decision to open the class was taken following the CMS Conference resolution which authorised missionary stations with at least one resident European missionary to train their own catechists[3]. However, the rapid implementation of that policy was determined mainly by the changing scene on the missionary fields both in Buganda and Busoga.

The early reports from the CMS missionaries in Busoga indicated that the supply of the Baganda catechists or missionaries fell short of the number they needed to man the missionary field there[4]. The problem was further

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1 Henry Walter Weatherhead (not to be confused with his brother, Herbert Thomas Candy Weatherhead who arrived at Budo in 1906) first arrived at the CMS station at Bukaleba (Busoga) in 1897 (see p.95). In 1904 he pioneered the building of the King's School at Budo where he acted as the first headmaster of the school from 1906-1912. In 1912 while on a furlough in England, he was advised by his doctors not to return to Africa. G.P. McGregor. King's College. Budo The first sixty years. Oxford University Press 1967. P.8, 21, 29.

2 Proceedings of the CMS. 1900, p.135.

3 The Conference was held at Mengo on 28-30 June 1899. CMS Archives, G3, A7/O.

4 The problem of the shortage of the Baganda catechists (missionaries) was first raised by the Rev. Crabtree in 1895, Crabtree to Baylis, 1 November 1895. CMS Archives G3, A5/O. Four years later, Allen Wilson echoed Crabtree's complaint, Wilson to Baylis, 21 December 1899. CMS Archives G3, A7/O.

aggravated by both the 1900 land settlement in Buganda which led to considerable population movements and the outbreak, the following year, of the sleeping sickness epidemic that had a devastating impact on south-eastern Buganda. Severe social upheavals resulted as families fled from the tsetse fly infested areas to the safe parts of the country. The only important southern route between Buganda and Busoga was now less attractive to human traffic as the route passed through the ill-fated area, thus making it more difficult for Baganda catechists to be persuaded to go to Busoga. The widespread social instability was coupled, as Taylor observes, with a serious lack of catechists in Buganda as some of the catechists opted for other jobs. For example, many of them joined the transport industry which offered higher pay than the Church[1].

In 1899, as cited above , Busoga was seriously hit by Mugudya which was shortly followed by the outbreak of the sleeping sickness epidemic. As in south-east Buganda, the sleeping sickness epidemic caused considerable suffering and loss of life in Busoga[2]. It was now clear to the Baganda catechists that it was not only the route to Busoga that

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1 J.V. Taylor. The Growth of the Church in Buganda p.79-80

2. Supra, p.140.

was dangerous but also the Busoga missionary field itself which had become rather dangerous and, therefore, less attractive to those who would have been willing to work there as catechists or missionaries. Moreover the number of the CMS Baganda catechists in Busoga had begun to run down as they hurried to return to their homeland to avoid catching the dreaded sleeping sickness. A.G. Fraser, the CMS missionary who later became the headmaster of Trinity College, Kandy, toured Busoga on a bicycle in 1902 and he observed that out of a total of fifty Baganda catechists who had been working in Busoga the previous year, thirty-nine of them had left the country, thus leaving many places without catechists[1]. Unfortunately this acute shortage of catechists was happening at a time when some of the Basoga were beginning - a tendancy which was first noted in 1897[2] - to accept the catechists and their message. For example, the CMS report for 1900 indicated that 119 people, adults and children, had been baptised that year[3], and as Table II indicates, the number of "converts" kept on rising in the subsequent years[4]. In other words, at the beginning of this century the CMS in Busoga was faced with a situation

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1 A.G. Fraser "Cycle Trip in Usoga and Kavirondo", December 1902. Printed account in CMS Archives G3, A7/0.

2 Supra, p.113.

3 Proceedings of the CMS 1900, p.158

4 Supra, p.150.

in which there were two contrasting developments - the number of the Baganda catechists was running down just at the time when some of the Basoga were beginning to respond positively to the missionary presence. Moreover, when the CMS abandoned Bukaleba in 1903[1], it had to close down its only catechist class there.

The possible adverse effects resulting from the closure of the class were averted, however, by the opening in 1903 of two new catechist classes, one at Iganga with seventeen candidates[2], and the other at Kamuli with fourteen candidates[3]. Yet, as the schools had just been opened, their student intake was quite small. What is more, the famine conditions caused by the outbreak of Mutama in 1907 caused the CMS to close down the catechist school at Iganga the following year[4]. The inevitable result was that by the 1910s, when CMS European missionaries in Busoga began expressing their anxiety in relation to what they expected to be a "mass movement" of the Basoga towards the Church[5],

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1 Supra, P.151.

2 CMI XXVII 1903. p.526

3 Extracts from Annual Letters 1903. p.190 CMS Archives.

4 Proceedings of the CMS 1908-09, p.72 CMS Library

5 Supra, P.148.

the CMS had fewer trained Basoga catechists than they required to meet the new situation.

The MHM, as already cited, had established a missionary station at Bukaleba in 1899. It was anxious to put on the missionary field as many men as was possible in order to take advantage of a situation in which the Basoga were beginning to accept the missionaries, for the MHM wanted to compete effectively with the CMS which had been working in Busoga for the previous nine years. However, the MHM which, like the CMS, depended initially on the use of the Baganda catechists to introduce the new religion to the Basoga, was also affected by the shortage of the Baganda catechists. Indeed, one anonymous priest observed that by 1900 the MHM had placed about a dozen Baganda catechists in various places in Busoga, but he regretted that a sufficient number of catechists could not be obtained to meet the growing demand for the catechists there. He hoped that after the famine (Mugudya), the Mission would "start educating Basoga as catechists"[1].

The Assembly of the Fathers meeting in June 1904 decided to open "a school for the better education and

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1 "Obstacles to Missionary Work", (anonymous author) paper (not dated) kept in file D/7/1 marked "Deanery Meetings". Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

training of catechists" at Namilyango[1] where the MHM had already opened a boarding school for the sons of the chiefs in 1902. The catechist school was opened in September and, unlike the CMS catechist schools which were run at several of their missionary stations in Uganda, the new catechist school at Namilyango was the only place where all the catechists for the Upper Nile Vicariate had to be trained. Consequently each missionary district could only send a handful of candidates to the school. For example, Busoga could only send four candidates each year[2]. Although it was not its deliberate policy to slow down the development of the trained indigenous lay ministry, the MHM, by centralising the training of the catechists, restricted the pace at which a body of trained Basoga Roman Catholic catechists would otherwise have grown.

It is now clear that the dwindling number of the Baganda missionaries on the one hand and the growing enthusiasm for Christianity on the part of the Basoga, encouraged the European missionaries of both missions to recruit and train some of the Basoga as church workers in

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1 "Resolutions made at the Assembly of the Fathers at Nsambya on 31 May, 1 and 3 June, 1904". File D/7/1. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2 Report on Namilyango College 1902-1926 (no author and no date). File N/17/7. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

order to assist the missionaries with mainly the task of evangelising the Basoga. Since this was urgent, some of the recruits were not trained but others received formal training as catechists. What is not clear, however, is why the Basoga showed interest in working as church workers both in and outside Busoga. Although the motives which encouraged the Basoga to become catechists would be influenced by the reasons for which they embraced Christianity[1], it is possible to isolate two motives which seem to have been on the minds of those who became catechists.

It has been observed that most of the early Baganda catechists who went to Busoga, lived either near or in the chiefs' ebisagati[2]. One of the results of that close association with the chiefs was that the bakopi began to regard the Baganda catechists with as much respect and fear as they did their chiefs. Indeed it was alleged that in some places the bakopi were more afraid of their Baganda catechists than their chiefs.[3] This was because the bakopi were aware of the considerable influence which some of the Baganda catechists exercised during the meeting of the

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1 The various motives are discussed in Chapter II.

2 Supra, p. 90.

3 Fr. Van Term to Grant 4th October 1901. Busoga Correspondence. Inward, August 1901 - December 1902. Entebbe Archives.

local "baraza"[1]. Secondly the bakopi used to see how the Basoga chiefs treated the Baganda catechists with considerable circumspection lest the catechists reported them to the European missionaries who would, it was feared, take the report to the European administrator[2]. It seems that even when a catechist was living outside the chief's ekisagati the power of the chief and the glory of the European missionaries was reflected in him with the result that the local people regarded him with respect and awe. Walabyeki, a Muganda catechist who never lived in a chief's ekisagati in Busoga, where he worked for over forty years, recalled how he used to get off his bicycle in the 1910s to beat up adult people who hesitated to get out of his way; that as the people, who were so brutally treated, were aware of Walabyeki's position as a catechist, they did not dare resist his instant punishment[3]. The catechist was, therefore, in a special and enviable position, as all the informants conceded, which many Basoga found too attractive to resist.

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1 The Commissioner instructed William Grant, who had raised a question regarding the political influence of the Baganda catechists, that the catechists should not attend the "baraza" with the purpose of influencing its proceedings, but that they could attend them only as observers and on the invitation of the chief.
Commissioner to Grant October 1901 Outward Vol.II Class AII 1901-1906. Entebbe Archives.

2 Interview with Nabikamba, 8 March 1972 at Kituto.

3 Interview with Walabyeki, 7 March 1972 at Budini.

There were many catechists, however, who were not primarily attracted to the profession by personal interests. At the end of the first decade, for example, many Basoga CMS catechists, in response to an appeal for missionaries, volunteered to go to work in the neighbouring country of Bukedi[1]. While in Bukedi, Petero Lukungu recalled, the Basoga catechists had to learn a new language, experienced considerable suffering and, sometimes even persecution. Although a few of the catechists abandoned their work, most of them remained at their posts throughout the initial difficult period[2]. The devotion and commitment to their work cannot be adequately explained in terms of seeking personal benefits. The explanation for their motivation lies at a deeper level. It appears that the deprivation and suffering which most of the Basoga went through during the two famines and the sleeping sickness epidemic, helped to deepen their understanding and appreciation of the Gospel.

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1 In 1911, the first group of thirty Basoga catechists went to work as missionaries in Bukedi. In the following year, the total number of Basoga missionaries there rose to fifty.
Skeens, Letters from the Front 1912 p.156-157. CMS Archives.
The MHM passed a resolution in 1912 to send Basoga catechists to Bukedi. But there is no evidence to suggest that this resolution was implemented.
Meeting held by the Fathers at Nsambya 15-18 July 1913. File D/7/1. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2 Canon Petero Lukungu interviewed by bishop C. Bamwoze 16 June 1966.

It may well have been that experience, which left a kind of revival impression on some of the Basoga, that gave them the impulse to offer themselves as catechists both in and outside Busoga.

It is evident that one had to be a Christian before one was allowed to train as a catechist. In addition, both missions preferred to have candidates who were pious and committed to the Christian cause. This was thought necessary because the catechist, in his capacity as a leader of the local congregation, was expected to set an example to the local population by living according to the Christian teaching. As Fr. Grimshaw pointed out, a catechist had to be a man to whom the people would not apply the words "doctor heal thyself"[1]. It is rather surprising that hardly any attention was given to the possession, or lack, of leadership qualities of those who were selected as catechist candidates. The catechist course which was offered at Namilyango included the study of Catechism, Writing or Reading, Arithmetic, Church History and instruction on Sacraments[2]. The list of subjects offered in the CMS catechist schools was similarly impressive, but the

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1 Fr. E. Grimshaw loc.cit. p.18.

2 Fr. Keller to Fr. Matthews, 2 March 1906. File N/17/7. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

CMS seems to have placed considerable emphasis on the practical aspect of the training as the day's class work was always concluded with the catechist candidates teaching the people in the neighbouring villages[1]. This practice which initially does not seem to have been common to the MHM was calculated to give the candidates practical experience. It also, as Rev. Wilson indicated, helped the CMS to minimise the otherwise serious problem of shortage of catechists[2].

The CMS and the MHM catechist course lasted one year. One of the obvious differences between the CMS and MHM catechists was that whereas for the latter, qualifying as a catechist was virtually an end in itself, for the former it marked the beginning of the ascent of the hierarchical professional ladder. The latter had been developed by the CMS in Buganda, and it was in essence a process of slow promotions from the untrained catechist to the junior catechist to senior catechist to lay-reader and finally ordination.[3]

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1 Proceedings of the CMS 1900-1901 p.151 CMS Library.

2 Rev. Wilson who had only two to four Baganda catechists in north Busoga in 1903 and a class of fourteen Basoga catechist candidates, used to send the latter to work in the village churches every weekend.
Extracts from the Annual Letters 1903. p.190 CMS Archives.

3 Taylor, p.76.

It has been suggested[1] that by 1910 when increasing numbers of the Basoga were embracing Christianity, the number of the trained catechists remained small. Although the school at Iganga had reopened in 1913[2] and the annual intake of the students at Kamuli, for example, had been increased in 1915 to 32 students[3], by and large, the number of the trained Basoga catechists seems to have remained small. This was due mainly to two factors.

First there was the problem of dropping out of school. The records at Kamuli show that about fifty per cent of the students who registered at the beginning of the year dropped out of the class before they qualified[4], thus indicating that although the student intake had risen, that rise was not reflected in the number of those who qualified as catechists at the end of the year.

Secondly there was the feeling, common to both missions, that the Basoga were ready to be "converted" in big numbers. The desire to exploit that opportunity while it lasted and the inevitable competition between the MHM and the CMS

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1 Supra, p.158.
2 Proceedings of the CMS 1913-1914. p.76 CMS Library
3 Proceedings of the CMS 1915-1916. p.63 CMS Library
4 Proceedings of the CMS 1915-1916. p.63 CMS Library

encouraged both missions to think that they were faced with an emergency situation. They responded to that situation, as has been claimed before, by persuading many of thos who had been baptised to begin working as untrained catechists. Indeed the number of CMS catechists rose from 72 in 1904 to 317 in 1914[1]. As the output of the catechist schools was still very small, a majority of these catechists would be categorised as untrained. This indicates that in this period, 1910s, Christian expansion was largely undertaken by the untrained catechists.

The MHM, which had only one catechist school at Namilyango, also relied heavily on the use of the untrained catechists. Indeed after the catechist school at Namilyango had been closed down following a students' strike there in 1906[2], the MHM depended entirely for its evange-

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1 Uganda Notes, May 1915. no.16, vol.16, p.379-380.

2 Pirouet, "Catechists in Western Uganda" paper privately circulated. 1970. p.22.
It is not clear why the catechist candidates went on strike, but the correspondence between Fr. Brandsma of Kamuli and Fr. Keller who was in charge of both Namilyango College and the catechist school reveals considerable uneasiness, on the part of Fr. Brandsma, about the way the school was being run. The latter who threatened to withdraw his students on the grounds that they were not taught anything, forced Fr. Keller to say "...I deny in toto the statement that 'the catechists are left to themselves to loll about all day'".
Fr. Keller to Fr. Matthews (Secretary of the MHM) 2 March 1906. File N/17/7. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

listic work on the services of the untrained catechists for the following seven years. It is true that MHM untrained catechists received some very elementary training during both the three days monthly catechists' gathering at the mission station and the three days annual retreat[1]. However, as these meetings were primarily held for the transaction of other business, for example, the giving of monthly instructions to the catechists, attempts to deepen their spiritual life and the submission of their monthly reports, the impact of that sporadic training was perhaps - at best - highly informal and often only minimal.

In 1912, Fr. Biermans[2] succeeded bishop Hanlon as Bishop of the Upper Nile Vicariate. The appointment of bishop Biermans marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the MHM. The new bishop needed to increase the number of the church workers, priests and catechists

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1 Iganga and Budini half-yearly reports, August and September 1913 respectively. File IV Reports. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2 Fr. Biermans was one of the seven MHM missionaries who left Mill Hill in October 1896 to reinforce the first five MHM missionaries who had gone to Uganda two years before. He worked in several missionary stations for example Nsambya, Kome Islands and Buvuma, before he was appointed (1912) Bishop of Gargara and Vicar Apostolic of the Upper Nile to succeed bishop Hanlon who was retiring.
Fr. Grimshaw. loc.cit. p.113.
In 1924 bishop Biermans was chosen to succeed Fr. Henry as Superior General at Mill Hill.
S.J.A. Winter Qr. 1923. vol.x, no.4, p.134.

in order to consolidate and further expand the influence of the Mission[1]. Indeed between 1912 and 1916, the number of catechists in the Upper Nile Vicariate rose from 311 to 595[2]. As many of the new catechists would have been, as in Busoga, recruited hurriedly in order to meet a rapidly developing situation in which there was a growing demand for catechists, the swelling work-force was dominantly untrained.

Although Bishop Biermans appreciated the indispensability of the untrained catechists he was anxious to improve their quality, because he believed that the work of the catechists could only improve if they were well trained and qualified[3]. Also, and perhaps more important, if the MHM had to compete on equal terms with the CMS whose catechists taught reading in the villages, the former had to offer the same attraction to its catechumens. It was with these considerations that a new Catechist School was started at Nazigo (Buganda) under Fr. Feesinck in 1914[4]. The School admitted only candidates

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1 Bishop Biermans, A History of the Vicariate of the Upper Nile. Kampala 1921 p.32.

2 The figures were obtained from the 1913 and 1917 St. Joseph's Advocate. As only the total figures were given it is impossible to determine the increase in any particular area.

3 Biermans, op.cit. p.33.

4 Fr. Wheatly to Biermans, 31 August 1921. File N/17/7. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

who had been working as untrained catechists, thus providing an opportunity for the untrained catechist to become fully qualified. During the training, which lasted two years, the candidates were taught how to teach the Catechism and how to conduct a school. They were also expected to acquire a practical knowledge of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic[1]. It is interesting to note that the training offered was calculated to enable one to act as both a catechist and a schoolmaster. Thus, like the CMS, the village catechumenates could then be run as both a village church and a village or "bush" school.

As has been indicated before, the policy of centrlising the training of the catechists required particular areas to send a fixed number of catechist candidates to the school[2]. Although the Basoga student quota after 1913 was not recorded it appears that the numbers involved were still quite small. In the graduating class of eighteen in February 1916, for example, there were ten students from Busoga[3]. The various mission centres, for example,

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1 Deanery Meeting held at Nsambya 15 June 1913; found in file D/7/1. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2 Supra, p.158.

3 The students were sent to Nazigo by their mission stations.
Kamuli Missionary station sent four.
Iganga Missionary station sent one.
Budini Missionary station sent five.
There were no students from Jinja which had a small and fluctuating Christian population. "Nazigo", a report 12 February 1916 (no author) found in File N/17/7. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

Budini, attempted - perhaps with considerable success - to solve the inevitable problem of shortage of trained catechists by using the "pupil-teacher" system[1] whereby boys in the mission schools helped the untrained and illiterate catechists to conduct the village schools[2].

By 1918, the MHM in Busoga had developed a simple professional ladder. At the bottom of the ladder was the dominant category, the untrained catechists who, with the opening of Nazigo catechist school, now looked forward to being promoted to the next group, the trained catechists, who because of their newly acquired skills, were increasingly enjoying more social prestige and power. Above the trained catechists were the head-catechists (also trained) above whom was the head of the head-catechists. The head-catechists and the head of the catechists were chosen, on the basis of their work, by the European missionaries, to assist the latter with the supervising of the rest of the catechists. Although the WF in Buganda had demonstrated their confidence in an ordained African ministry by ordaining two Baganda, Bazilio Lumu and Victor Mukasa in June 1913[3], that example was not quickly followed

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1 Infra, p.174-175.

2 Half-yearly report from Budini, 28 February 1914. File IV Reports. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

3 A. Hastings. Mission and Ministry Sheed and Ward. London 1971 p.163.

by the MHM. The delay was probably caused by lack of training facilities, because in July 1918 steps were taken to ask Bishop Streicher of the WF whether the WF could admit MHM ordination candidates into their seminary at Katigondo (Buganda). As the training of Basoga priests was just getting under-way in 1918, there were no male Basoga church workers who had advanced beyond the rank of head catechist. The second request was that the WF should let the MHM use the former's "native sisters" in its Vicariate for an unspecified period[1]. The first group of eight "native sisters" under Mama Yuliya arrived in Busoga in 1923[2].

It is surprising to note that as late as 1918, the MHM was not making plans to train "native sisters" of their own. Indeed, even in 1922 when Mother Kevin[3], who had been approached by eight Baganda girls who wanted to become sisters, introduced the idea of training "native sisters",

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1 4th Provincial Chapter meeting at Nsambya 16-19 July 1918. File D/7/1. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2 "Okutuka kwa Bannabikira mu Busoga", article by Antonio Sabakaki in Munno. January 1924. Makerere Library.

3 Mother Kevin was one of the first six Franciscan sisters who came to Uganda in January 1903. In 1906 she opened a Convent at Nagalama and eight years later she opened another Convent at Kamuli (Busoga). Her main contribution to missionary work in Uganda was the founding of the "Congregation of the Little Sisters of St. Francis" in 1923. The "Little Sisters" were trained at Nsambya but when their

she met with considerable skepticism from the rest of the missionaries who accused her of "letting your enthusiasm run away with you"[1]. Why the missionaries of the MHM had so much skepticism regarding the training of the "native sisters" although the WF had demonstrated that this could be done, is a question one can hardly answer. What is important, however, is to note that the MHM's negative attitude towards indigenous women church workers was primarily responsible for the lack of a team of indigenous women church workers in Busoga throughout this period. The MHM had opened a Convent at Kamuli in 1914. This Convent was entirely manned by the European lady missionaries and its facilities were not, at that time, used to train Basoga girls towards becoming "native sisters" or church workers.

The second major development which the new bishop needed in order to implement his policy of consolidation and expansion was to improve the education system of the MHM. It was generally accepted by MHM circles that to

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number grew, they were moved to Nkokonjeru in 1928. Mother Kevin died in the United States of America in 1957 but her body was brought back to Uganda to be buried at her School, Nkokonjeru. Sister Louis, Love is the Answer. The story of Mother Kevin. Fallons 1964. Also Gale, p.236; 310.

1 Louis, Love is the Answer. p.123-127.

raise the standard of education in the mission and village schools would attract more pupils to those schools. Also it was hoped that some of the graduates of the mission schools would be employed as clerks by the various Basoga chiefs[1]. Thus the former would help to represent and spread Catholic influence in the political field where the MHM was poorly represented[2]. The building of the new high schools[3] and the opening of the catechist school as cited above, were some of the important steps taken to raise the standard of the MHM schools. Unfortunately, the training of school teachers which should have gone hand in hand with the raising of the education standards, was still regarded as a premature development. During the meeting of the 4th Provincial Chapter at Nsambya in 1918, for example, it was felt that the training given at Nazigo, which enabled a Nazigo graduate to work as both a catechist and a schoolmaster, was still adequate[4]. This

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1 4th Provincial Chapter, 16-19 July 1918 at Nsambya. File D/7/1. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2. Bishop Biermans once suggested that one of the major draw-backs of the MHM was that they did not, unlike the Protestants and Muslims, have many important Roman Catholic chiefs. Bishop Biermans. op.cit. p.17. (For the influence of the chiefs see Chapter Four)

3 Supra, p.147.

4 4th Provincial Chapter, 16-19 July 1918 at Nsambya. File D/7/1. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

was mainly because the MHM, as a latecomer to the field of education had not yet developed a distinct system of elementary education which required a specialised group of people, schoolmasters to run it. So by 1918 the MHM did not have schoolmasters forming a distinct and separate group from the catechists. In fact the catechist - as has been claimed before - was also the schoolmaster.

The CMS presented a rather different picture. As already indicated[1], the CMS, as indeed the MHM, found it necessary to employ untrained catechists. A majority of the Basoga catechists who went to Bukedi, for example, were untrained[2], but unlike the MHM's untrained catechists, most of the CMS's untrained catechists were literate. Their ability to read was a great advantage as reading was, at that time, an attractive bait to the would-be "converts"[3]. Also as there were two CMS catechist schools in Busoga, the CMS untrained catechists had more chances of getting promoted to the level of trained catechist than their Roman Catholic counterparts.

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1 Supra, p. 159.

2 Of the sixteen Basoga catechists who went to Teso (Bukedi) from Iganga in January 1913, only two were described as trained.
Rev. Skeens in Uganda Notes. March 1913, no.3. vol.14 p.73

3 Supra (Ch.II)

The CMS, which in 1898 had invited C.W. Hattersley to introduce and develop an elementary education system in Uganda, established at the beginning of this century a pupil-teachers' class at Mengo to train teachers who would help in opening elementary schools in the villages. Under the pupil-teacher system, the pupils in the teachers' class were expected to follow the normal academic syllabus and to teach in the neighbouring village schools each day. However in practice, the pupils did far more teaching than real academic work. At the end of the year the pupils graduated as abasizi or junior teachers or first certificate teachers. After a year's work in the village schools, they could return to Mengo to work for the second certificate[1]. Some of the first Basoga schoolmasters, for example, Musa Kaduyu about whom Miss Allen wrote, "He is ... well able to teach and even superintends the school in my absence", were trained in Hattersley's class at Mengo[2].

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1 Britton J. "The Training of Schoolmasters in Uganda". Uganda Notes. May 1915 no.16 vol.16 p.387.

2 Miss Allen. Annual letter. December 1903. CMS Archives G3,A7/0.
Musa Kaduyu was appointed a Gombolola (sub-county) chief in March 1916 and he held the same position until his retirement in the 1940s. As Gombolola chief, he played a prominent role in building the busumba (pastorate) Church at Namutumba in 1922 and a primary school in the same place in 1927.
Kibedi "Okuggulawo Namutumba School" Ebifa mu Uganda January 1935. no.336 p.3-5.

As Hattersley's pupil-teacher class gradually developed into a proper teacher-training school or "Normal School", the pupil-teacher system was passed on to the central or mission schools who began training their own pupil-teachers for the little dependent village schools. The first teachers' class in Busoga was started with twenty-eight pupils by Rev Mathers at Kamuli in 1911[1]. At about the same time, a womens teachers' class was started at Iganga and in 1912, twenty-six of the two hundred and seventy-seven CMS Basoga teachers (catechists included) were women[2].

The teachers'(basizi) course which lasted a year and led to the first certificate included instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, blackboard writing, elementary instruction in method, drill, register and mark-book keeping, the Bible and practice in taking children's services and giving simple addresses. After a year's successful teaching, some of the basizi, were allowed to go to Mengo Normal School to study for the second certificate[3]. Lubogo was, for example, one of the graduates of Rev

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1 Rev H. Mathers. Annual Letter December 1911. CMS Archives. G3, A7/O.

2. Uganda Notes. May 1915. no.16 vol.16 p.380.

3 "Educational Code for 1910, Vernacular Schools" CMS Archives G3,A7/O.

Mathers' class at Kamuli who, in 1912, was admitted as a second certificate candidate in the Normal School at Mengo[1]. Although similar arrangements existed for the women teachers at Gayaza, where there was a Normal School for the women, transport difficulties made it impossible for the Basoga women teachers to go to study at Gayaza[2].

The subjects which were taught to the would-be schoolmasters demonstrate clearly that the schoolmasters were prepared to do both church and school work. Indeed, as the village schools were primarily used as instruments of missionary expansion[3], the basizi helped to strengthen the CMS catechists who were exclusively engaged in church work. It is true that in many places in Busoga one would find either only a catechist or omusizi at work, but the opening

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1 Interview with Lubogo on 29 March 1972 at Bugembe.

2 Ekitabo Kyo Lukiiko Lwe Iganga, 6 December 1913, Iganga busumba Archives.

3 Supra, p. 143.
Most of the village schools in Busoga were strikingly similar to the village school in Fort Hall (Kenya) which Mockerie describes, "The villagers proposed to build the school, and provided the school ground and building material ... the European missionary visited the School. The visit wasn't concerned with education of scholars, but with the catechising of the people who were being prepared for baptism and confirmation". Gathendu Mockerie, An African Speaks for his People. Hogarth Press 1934. p.54-55.

of the teachers' classes in Busoga was beginning to change this.

The list of church workers who were posted in Iganga parish in late 1911, for example, shows several places where both a catechist and omusizi had been posted[1]. The main advantage of that arrangement was that it enabled continuity of services to be maintained all the year round. When one was away, say, itinerating or on sick leave, the other kept the Church and the school open. The MHM who had an undeveloped basizi system were quick to admit that the CMS reached a wider audience because "the Protestants have in many places two Churches (a Church and a school) and two catechists"[2] omusomesa and omusizi.

It has been demonstrated that the schoolmasters or basizi were from the first a quasi-church order and that their training followed a course which was virtually parallel to that of the catechists. As Fr. Mindrop's remarks above indicate, the two groups were so close to each other that it was difficult to see any distinction between them. However, as regular schools which were more

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1 Ekitabo Kyo Lukiiko Lwe Iganga, 6 November 1911. Iganga busumba Archives.

2 Fr. Mindrop of Kamuli to Bishop Biermans 26 February 1913. File IV Reports. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

concerned with the consolidation of the Christian community than with evangelisation were opened at the mission stations[1], the training of the teachers for those schools became advanced and more specialised[2] as indeed the schoolmaster increasingly became a more distinct person than ever before. It should be realised, however, that at the village level where there had hardly been any change by 1918, the distinction between the village omusomesa and the village omusizi remained blurred. But in the subsequent years as the education system became more elaborate and the village omusizi began to identify himself with the highly esteemed Budo trained schoolmasters than with the village catechist, the gap between the two became more apparent.

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1 Supra, p. 144.

2 At the CMS Conference at Budo, March 1915, teacher training came up at the top of the agenda. At the conference Rev Britton, the headmaster of Mengo Normal School, argued strongly for the development of a more specialised and advanced teacher training programme in order to meet the new challenge of "higher education". He suggested - and the Conference agreed to his suggestion - that the Normal School at Mengo should be closed down and a more advanced Normal School should be opened at Budo.
Rev. Britton "The Training of Schoolmasters in Uganda" Uganda Notes. May 1915 no.16 vol.16 p.386-391.

The Responsibilities of the Basoga Professionals

A discussion of the responsibilities of the emerging Basoga professionals necessarily leads to the question of how far the missionaries were prepared to grant responsibilities to the Basoga Christians. The rite of ordination which gave the indigenous clergymen the same spiritual authority - though not necessarily the same social prestige - as the European missionaries, may be taken as a fair index of the missionary's willingness to share his responsibilities and powers with some of the indigenous people.

It has been indicated that throughout this period all the Basoga professionals - excepting Wabuleta who was ordained a deacon by the CMS in May 1918 - were employed by both the CMS and MHM in the lowest strata of the Church hierarchies either as catechists or basizi of various grades.

According to MHM records, a missionary district, whose centre was the mission station, was manned by 1920, (at the end of this early period) by one or two European missionaries and a host of about sixty catechists. The latter would be grouped into lots consisting of about twelve catechists under a head, known as the head-catechist. These would be, most likely, Nazigo graduates. Above the

head catechists, as already cited, was the unique position of the head of all the heads. The latter who was in this period a Muganda, lived at the missionary station where he assisted the European missionaries in preparing the baptism candidates. He kept his link with the rest of the catechists by visiting them regularly to see their work[1].

The head-catechists also had supervisory responsibilities in their areas but like the ordinary trained or untrained catechists, they were primarily concerned with evangelising the people and nourishing the nascent Christian community[2].

The European missionary perched at the top of the pyramidal structure kept watch on the catechists by instituting a regular communication system between the centre (the missionary station) and the village catechuminates. The head of the head-catechists who visited the catechumenates regularly kept the missionaries informed and the missionaries themselves visited the catechumanates at least twice a year. Also the catechists, as already cited, were required to report to the centre once every month. As Mutaka recalled, it was during those monthly meetings that

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1 Account on the Kamuli missionary district, written by Fr. Wright, 21 January 1920. In file IX History, Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2 S.J.A. Winter Qr. 1902. vol.iv no.10 p.278-279.

the catechists presented their problems and difficulties to the missionaries who always suggested the solutions to those problems[1]. In other words the catechists generally looked up to the centre or to the missionary for answers to their problems and for guidance in their work. This attitude of watchfulness and domination from the centre imposed on the catechist and the missionary at the centre the relationship of continuous tutelage from the centre. The catechist was supposed to remain a pupil who had to be tutored from above. In practice, however, as the European missionaries were thinly spread over a wide area, the catechists seem to have had a great deal of de facto autonomy which enabled them to take initiative on a wide variety of issues and to enjoy a good deal of social prestige.

It is, however, important to ask why the European missionaries adopted the policy of continuous tutelage. It seems that in assessing the catechists' performance, the MHM missionaries were, on the whole, dissatisfied with the work of the Basoga catechists. They did not take into consideration the fact that the Basoga catechists had been recently recruited, that most of them had not received formal catechist training and that they worked under hard

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1 Interview with Yeremiya Mutaka, 20 November 1971 at Nawandala.

conditions, bad accommodation[1] and a meagre salary[2], which may have affected the performance of their duties as catechists. The MHM European missionaries in Busoga tended to think that the apparent poor performance of their catechists was because the Basoga, as Fr. Drontmann wrongly observed "did not have qualities neither the characteristics or standing required for influencing their fellow natives". He further expressed the wish to employ Baganda catechists, "with a natural sort of superiority about them"[3]. Thus the missionaries' lack of confidence in the Basoga Church workers may have partly influenced the decision of the MHM to keep the Basoga catechists in a continuous tutelage relationship with them.

Secondly - and more important - the Roman Catholics followed a policy of not founding new Churches but new provinces of the Roman Church[4]. This meant, among other

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1 Interview with Yosefu Naku on 28 September 1971 at Bukoyo.

2 The pay in 1913 was, on the average, about two shillings every month.
Fr. Burns to bishop Biermans, 28 February 1913. File IV Reports. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

3 Fr. Drontmann, a half-yearly report, 15 August 1914. File IV Reports. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

4 Oliver. op.cit. p.218.

things, that considerable emphasis was placed on introducing and sustaining the traditions and practices of the European Roman Catholic Church in the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda[1]. As the indigenous people who did not have previous knowledge of the traditions of the Roman Catholic Church were beginning to assume various minor responsibilities in the young Church, the European missionaries regarded it as their solemn duty to guide and watch the "newcomers" lest - in their ignorance and perhaps zeal - they violate the precious traditions of the Roman Catholic Church. As a measure against possible expensive ecclesiastical mistakes, the MHM confined the Basoga church workers to the lower rungs of the professional ladder where initiative was discouraged and obedience encouraged.

The CMS, by contrast with the MHM, aimed at creating a self-governing, self-supporting and self-extending Church[2]. In other words the missionaries were expected to hand over various responsibilities gradually to the indigenous people "until at last the Missionary element will disappear alto-

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1 For example, one of the important and now controversial traditions introduced was the celebate priesthood. Hastings A. op.cit. p.156.

2 Bishop Willis, An African Church in Building, Camelot Press Ltd. 1925. p.6.

gether and the native Church will stand alone"[1]. One of the important steps which the CMS took in their attempt to create a "native Church", was to train and ordain rapidly an indigenous ministry. Whereas this was done rather quickly in other parts of the country, for example, Buganda, Toro and Bunyoro, where the first indigenous people were ordained after the CMS had worked there for only sixteen, thirteen and sixteen years respectively[2], in Busoga the first ordination occurred twenty-seven years after the CMS had started work there[3]. Thus indicating that the process of handing church responsibilities and power to the Basoga was considerably slower than in several other parts of the country. It may now be asked how much real responsibilities the CMS allowed its Basoga professionals

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1 Bishop Tucker op.cit. vol.i p.242.
This was in keeping with Henry Venn's (Secretary of the CMS from 1841-72) declaration "Let a native Church be organised as a national institution ... Every national Church is at liberty to change its ceremonies and adapt itself to the national taste".
Quoted in Warren M. Social History and Christian Mission SCM Press 1967. p.129.

2 The CMS first arrived in Buganda in 1877 and in 1893 Bishop Tucker ordained seven Baganda as deacons. Tucker A. op.cit. vol.i p.236.
The CMS started work in Toro in 1894 and in 1907 the first two Batoro were ordained deacons. In Bunyoro where CMS work had started in 1896 the first three ordinations occurred in 1912. L.Pirouet. Ph.D. Thesis 1968, p.90, 182.

3 Supra, p. 152.

to have by 1918 and why it took so long for some of them to be promoted to the rank of ordination.

The CMS Church organisation[1] was similar in as far as it took a pyramidal form to that of the MHM. Six to eight village Churches formed omuluka[2] (plural - miruka) (a sub-district) or parish. The senior catechist or lay-reader who was in charge of the omuluka also acted as the chairman of the omuluka lukiiko (parish council). About six to ten miruka formed busumba, a pastorate in the charge of an ordained clergy. The busumba also had a council which was chaired by the omusumba (pastor). At the beginning of 1918, the CMS had eight ordained men in Busoga. Four of the eight were European missionaries, who tended to concentrate on teaching in the mission station schools, while the rest were Baganda pastors who did most of the pastoral or busumba work[3].

As prospective ordinands, some of the lay-readers

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1 The following account on Church organisation is derived from Bishop Willis' An African Church in Building. p.29, 71-73.

2 This is also the title of a political division. The ecclesiastical divisions were meant to coincide with the political divisions. But it seems that shortage of staff in the Church made it difficult for the parallelism between the ecclesiastical and the civil administration to be maintained.

3 The names of the European missionaries and their Baganda assistants are shown in Table IV.

worked very closely with the omusumba. They were the right hand men of the basumba (pl.) in whose busumba they conducted services, preached, superintended churches, acted in the absence of the omusumba, and administered funds. The busumba (six or more) formed a rural deanery which was in the charge of a European missionary who chaired the rural-decanal council. Finally the whole Church was represented in the Diocesan Synod[1] which met at least once every two years at Mengo.

This description leads to a number of observations. First, the CMS organisation of the Church in Busoga was done on the basis of the council system. Each council elected several representatives to the next council in line. The councils were dominated by the church workers themselves. Thus reflecting a somewhat impoverished view on the position of the laity in the Church. Like all systems, the council system of the CMS, had its advantages and disadvantages.

One of the main advantages of the system was that by meeting together to discuss various issues, for example, the transferring and posting of teachers, the building of

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1 The Diocesan Synod was established by the 1909 constitution of the Church of Uganda. Its members included the bishop (chairman), all the clergy, lay-readers and male representatives of the laity; each congregation of fifty communicants could elect one representative. Constitution of the Church of Uganda 1909, in CMS Archives.

a new church or school, measures to improve the discipline of the Christians, the CMS workers felt involved in the decision-making process of the Church. This gave the CMS a more democratic look than its counterpart, the MHM which allowed all the authority and influence to be concentrated in the hands of the European missionary. It is also possible that the system helped the church workers to develop confidence in themselves and interest in their work since the council system allowed them to feel that their ideas and suggestions contributed to the growth of their Church. Lastly as these parochial councils mainly dealt with problems of a local nature, the Basoga church workers may have been better placed to solve those problems and other problems of emergency nature than, say, the European missionaries of either CMS or MHM who were not regularly in touch with the local population as they lived in isolated brick houses in the mission station.

It is a common experience that committee work tends, especially at the higher levels, to take up a good deal of one's time. This may have been the case in Busoga. It has been observed that the lower councils sent its delegates to the next council. The result was that a catechist would find himself a member of both the muluka and busumba councils. In addition to that, in 1917 the Synod had

passed legislation establishing formally a pyramid structure parallel to the ecclesiastical one for the administration of the schools. The clergymen and the catechists were declared the visitors of schools and they also attended the quarterly meeting of the District Board of Education[1]. Thus three or more months a year could be spent on committee work. This would be done at the expense of both pastoral and evangelisation work.

On the whole, the powers and influence of the councils increased perpendicularly from the lower to the upper councils. This was a reasonable arrangement as it meant placing the more complicated issues, for example, the question of baptising a polygamist or the rise in salaries, in the hands of the better trained men - the clergy and the European missionaries. But as the clergy and the European missionaries were also the most important and powerful people in the church hierarchy, they seem to have exerted undue influence on the men and women who attended the councils which were chaired by the clergy and the European missionaries.

At Kaliro, for example, the busumba council could not decide on the simple question of building a catechist's

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1 Laws and Regulations of the Church of Uganda 1917, in bound form in the CMS Archives.

house until Eriya Mukasa's (the omusumba) view had been known[1]. Thus indicating that although the councils were supposed to provide a forum for the free exchange of ideas and debate of issues, the ordained clergy and the missionaries tended to dominate these councils. Domination was easy to maintain because most of the councillors who were catechists of various grades were anxious to keep on good terms with the clergymen and missionaries on whose recommendations the promotions of the catechists largely depended. It appears, therefore, that in spite of the council system, the CMS, like the MHM, practised - perhaps to a more limited degree - the policy of continuous tutelage whereby there was clerical domination from above. It should also be pointed out that as the system of church government subjected every person to the man above him, the Baganda pastors were as subjected to the European missionary watchfulness and domination[2] as the Basoga catechists and basizi were victims - only more intensely - of the policy of continuous tutelage from both the Baganda pastors and the European missionaries.

The second observation is that the CMS Church organi-

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1 Ekitabo kyo Lukiiko, Kaliro. 1 July 1916. Kaliro busumba Archives.

2 See Table IV especially the reference to Kaliro and Wesunire.

sation revealed, by and large, a three-tier system; the Basoga professionals were at the bottom of the pyramid, the Baganda clergymen in the middle and the European missionaries at the top of the pyramid. This arrangement was not unique to Busoga. Wherever the CMS worked in Uganda - excepting Buganda - the three-tier system could be easily identified. What is rather puzzling, as already indicated[1] is that in Busoga the system lasted much longer than in other parts of the country. There are several reasons responsible for this. First it should be remembered that during the early period of the colonial government, the Baganda worked as close associates or partners of the new arrivals. While the British administrator employed the Baganda as agents to open up the other parts of Uganda, the British missionary employed them as evangelists and later as clergymen in the neighbouring countries. The Baganda, on the whole, welcomed this development. Since the arrival of the British coincided with the growth and expansion of their kingdom, they could use the British presence to consolidate their conquests and to spread their influence in

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1 Supra, p. 184.

the surrounding areas[1].

By and large, the Baganda - British partnership or "alliance" was allowed to prevail until local discontent was voiced against the Baganda although this was not the only factor which could disrupt the partnership[2]. The best example of local rebellion against the Baganda was the Nyangire rebellion of 1907, in Bunyoro. The rebellion, which had similar repercussions in the neighbouring kingdom of Toro[3], seems to have influenced the British to replace the Baganda chiefs rapidly. By 1914 most of the Baganda chiefs had been replaced[4]. The CMS missionaries also responded to the local discontent by ordaining to the ministry two Batoro in 1907 and three Banyoro in 1912[5]. In Busoga, where the Baganda influence was no longer strongly resented, there had not been any expression of public discontent, let

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1 Roberts A. "The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda". Journal of African History. vol.III no.3 1962, especially pages 448-449.
Also when Fataki the well-known evangelist in Bunyoro went to Buganda, at the end of the last century, to ask for more Baganda catechists, Apolo Kaggwa, the Katikiro, is alleged to have retorted that the Banyoro were a pagan country which the Baganda would "go and devour" - the implication being that the Baganda would take possession of Bunyoro. Pirouet L. Ph.D. Thesis 1968. p.136.

2 See, for example, p.195-198.

3 Pirouet L. loc.cit. 72.

4 Roberts A. op.cit. p.445.

5 Supra, p.184, footnote 2.

alone violent rebellion against the Baganda. The Baganda-British partnership was therefore allowed to continue virtually uninterrupted for at least the first decade of this century at both the ecclesisstical and political levels.

Secondly, in 1901 Archdeacon Walker had expressed the wish to introduce Luganda in the rest of Uganda on the assumption that use of a common language would draw all the Christians into closer relationships[1]. Walker's idea under-estimated the opposition which the introduction of Luganda would run into in some parts of the country. However, the CMS later issued its language policy which stipulated that all evangelistic work had to be done in the vernacular but that educational work had to be done in Luganda[2]. As Rowling later explained, it was hoped that the use of Luganda would "bind firmly together the various tribes into a more united whole"[3].

Bishop Willis indicated in 1913 that it was still hoped that the use of Luganda in the CMS schools would help to bring about closer Christian unity[4]. In Busoga

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1. Walker to Baylis, 19th August 1901. CMS Archives G3, A7/O.

2. Tucker, op. cit. Vol:ii,p.214.

3. Rowling F, "The Luganda Language" written for the Uganda Notes of August 1907, p.136-138. CMS Archives G3,A7/O.

4. Bishop Willis, The Policy of the Uganda Mission, pamphlet issued for private circulation. Standard Printing and Publishing Works, Nairobi 1913, p.9. CMS Archives G3,A7/O.

Luganda was used in both the Church and the schools and there was also some indication that many of the Basoga desired to learn Luganda. Busoga was therefore, one area which could be linked more closely to Buganda through the use of Luganda as a common language. As the continued presence of the Baganda clergymen in Busoga aided the growth of Kiganda influence - which the European missionaries were often prepared to equate with Christian influence[1] - and contributed to the spreading of Luganda there, the CMS missionaries were contented to keep the Baganda clergymen at work in Busoga. Also the CMS and indeed the MHM still believed that the Basoga were inferior, intellectually, to the Baganda[2]. Although this unfortunate view was changing gradually[3], it may have influenced the thinking of many of the missionaries then, encouraging them to regard the ordination of some of the Basoga catechists as a premature measure.

My informants also reported that there was a common

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1 Pirouet L. Ph.D. Thesis 1968. p.43.

2 Gerber M. to Webb-Peploe. September 1908. CMS Archives G3, A7/0. 1908-09.
Also Editorial S.J.A. Autumn Quarter 1908, vol.v no.9 p.165. Mill Hill Archives.

3 In 1925 Bishop Willis was able to write "Individually many of the Basoga are the intellectual equals of the Baganda, but collectively they are generations behind them". Bishop Willis, op.cit. p.24.

feeling that the Baganda clergymen working in Busoga were not keen on being replaced by the Basoga whom they thought were not yet ready to shoulder the responsibilities that ordination entailed. The example the informants frequently quoted was that of Eriya Mukasa who worked as omusumba at Kaliro from 1912-1936[1]. However, there is no evidence to prove that there was a Baganda clergymen conspiracy against the advancement of the Basoga to ordination. It is possible that the prolonged stay which was perhaps motivated by the love of the Basoga and the work of the Church there - of men like Rev Yoswa Kiwavu[2] and Rev Eriya Mukasa resulted in the continuation of the policy of

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1 When he retired in 1936, Rev Mukasa continued to live at Kaliro. He died in 1944 and was buried next to his wife (who had died before) outside his Church at Kaliro. Interview on 2 October 1971 with Mika Mwavu - who, as a young man, had lived with the Mukasas from 1924-1931-at Iwawu (Iganga).

2 Although Kiwavu had been 'forced to leave Busoga in 1894 (p.109), he returned to Busoga in 1899 shortly after he had been ordained a deacon. He worked at Iganga, Kamuli, Naminage, Wesunire retiring in the 1920s. To the European missionaries, as Rev Mathers indicated, Kiwavu was self-sacrificing and hard-working. To the Basoga he was a keen Christian, a strict disciplinarian and rather individualistic. The Basoga feared him more than they respected him. This was because he was reputed to have the ability to curse people who displeased him. (i) Archdeacon Mathers, "Omugenzi Rev. Yoswa Kiwavu" in Ebifa mu Buganda, May 1932 no.304 p.122. (ii) Interview with Rev. Aloni Gwawala (Gwawala worked as a catechist at Naminage under Kiwavu) done by bishop C. Bamwoze 1964. (iii) Interview with Lubogo Y. on 29 March 1972 at Bugembe.

continuous tutelage which may have had a frustrating impact on the efforts of some of the young Basoga lay-readers who were eager to be promoted to the next rank of clergy.

Towards the end of the first decade, the British government, which had then established itself firmly in Busoga, felt that the time had come to initiate the gradual process of breaking the British-Baganda partnership in Busoga. Initially only the small chieftainships were to be affected by the new policy[1], but by 1913 when Kakungulu, the President of the Busoga Lukiiko, who was thought to have outlived his usefulness, was relieved of his post[2], it was becoming increasingly certain that most of the big chieftainships would also be affected by the new policy. The 1920 list of the big chiefs in Busoga did not include any Baganda[3]. The process of breaking the British-Baganda

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1 Collector to Sub-Commissioner Eastern Province "Busoga, Relative to position of Baganda Regents and minor chieftainships". 13 August 1907. SMP 1133/07. Entebbe Archives.

2 Thomas H.B. "Capax Imperii, The story of Kakunguru" Uganda Journal, vol.vi no.3 January 1939, p.135.

3 The chiefs were as follows:

County	Name of Chief
Bugabula	Daudi Mutekanga (Regent)
Kigulu	Gidioni Oboja
Luwuka	Salimu Isiko
Bukoli	Samwiri Mugoya
Bugweri	Yekonia Menya
Bunya	Yusufu Balita
Bulamogi	Ezekieri Wako, he was also President of the "Busoga Native Council"

Eastern Province Annual Report 1920
SMP/703 J. Entebbe Archives.

partnership or "Soganizing" the local administration may have had repercussions in both the Christian community in Busoga and the church hierarchy.

The Basoga Christians who may have been inspired and influenced by the government's action were quick to feel self-confident and to realise that the CMS Busoga Church was lagging behind the Churches in the other parts of Uganda where some of the indigenous people had been ordained. Consequently, they started putting pressure on the church hierarchy to ordain some of the Basoga lay-readers[1]. The church hierarchy which had started ordaining indigenous people in Bunyoro and Toro at the same time as the colonial government had started replacing the Baganda chiefs there, may have felt obliged to follow the lead, which the colonial government had demonstrated, by promoting some of the Basoga lay-readers to the rank of the ordained clergymen.

Further, the CMS was under considerable pressure imposed on it by the outbreak of the first World War. There was a shortage of the ordained clergymen as many of the ordained European missionaries in Uganda had gone to German

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1 The issue of ordination was discussed in the Iganga Busumba Lukiiko meeting 11 April 1914 Ekitabo Kyo Lukiiko Iwe Iganga, Iganga busumba Archives.

East Africa (Tanzania) to work as chaplains to the British troops[1]. Even after the war, the problem of missionary shortage remained quite acute. A Europe which had her Faith shaken and which was still struggling to recover from the rigours of the war was not in a position to offer the financial support required to send out missionaries[2]. Secondly in spite of the missionary shortage, the CMS in Uganda had started work in Kigezi in 1914, and after the war, the CMS and the Universities' Mission occupied the Bukoba area abandoned by the German missionaries. Also the CMS had plans to move into Rwanda and the newly acquired district of West Nile[3] (NW Uganda). It was possibly anticipated that some of the ordained Baganda would be used as pastors in the new fields, thus making it difficult for the old missionary fields, like Busoga, to get the required reinforcements from Buganda.

Thirdly, the steady growth of the Christian community in Busoga called for more ordained men to minister to it. For example, when bishop Willis, a great believer in the

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1 Archdeacon Baskerville and Dr Cook, Review of 1916. February 1917. CMS Archives G3, A7/O.

2 Oliver R. op.cit. p.231-232.

3 Uganda Notes. January 1918. vol.19 p.30-31

policy of continuous tutelage[1], was asking for more European missionaries to be sent to Uganda in 1913, he indicated that in the busumba of Kamuli three clergymen, two Europeans and a Muganda, could not cope with the work there. The work involved running a boarding school (Balangira High School), superintending 139 local Churches and schools with 5233 children and ministering to the congregation which was growing at the average rate of 1000 people a year.[2]

Evidently a new situation, in which more ordained clergymen were needed than ever before, had developed in Busoga. It was mainly in response to the demands of that situation, that the church authorities at the top quickly responded by appealing publicly to the Basoga catechists to undertake the two years training at the Mukono Theological College, which would lead to ordination. Ironically, Bishop Willis pioneered this new development when, in his address to the congregation at Iganga in 1915, he urged the chiefs to play a more outstanding role in the Church councils and challenged the Basoga catechists to train for

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1 Bishop Willis, like most Europeans of his time, strongly believed that the African, unlike the European, had limited intellectual ability. Consequently he needed the European to provide him with the right kind of leadership. Bishop Willis. op.cit. p.39-42

2 Bishop Willis to Manley (CMS Secretary) 8 December 1912. CMS Archives G3, A7/O.

ordination[1]. About two and a half years later, Nasanairi Wabuleta, as already cited, was admitted by Bishop Willis to the deacon's orders at Iganga[2].

It is worth noting that although the ordination of Wabuleta marked the beginning of an assault on both the British-Baganda partnership and the three-tier system, the ordination was primarily calculated to reinforce the existing number of pastors in Busoga and not - as it had been in Bunyoro and Toro - to replace the Baganda pastors. In fact two Baganda pastors, Kezekiya Kyobe and Kamu Mukasa arrived in Busoga the following year (1919)[3] to reinforce the

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1 The Bishop's speech was reproduced by Zefaniya Nabikamba in Ebifa mu Buganda July 1915. no.104 p.174.

2 Wabuleta's background is interesting. He was a page in the ekisagati of a minor chief called Balodha at Buwologoma (Luwuka). In 1899 he fled to the CMS mission at Bukaleba after he had fatally wounded a colleague with whom he had gone hunting. He was baptised the following year at Bukaleba and in 1902 he was one of Mr. Innes' students in the catechist class at Bukaleba. After six months he graduated with the first certificate as a catechist. He worked in various places in Busoga and in 1907 he went to Namirembe to do the second certificate. That was followed in 1913 by the third certificate. Finally in 1916, he took the deacon's course at Mukono.
Information based on (i) interview of Rev. N. Wabuleta done by Bishop C. Bamwoze in 1964 at Iganga. (ii) interview of Mrs. Miriamu Mwavu - who was Wabuleta's adopted daughter - on 17 September 1971 at Iwawu (Iganga).

3 Proceedings of the CMS 1919. p.xxvi. CMS Library.

already overworked pastors there. Also, as it took place at Iganga, the ordination helped to restore a sense of pride among the Basoga Christians. Further, as Kezekiya Nkobera recalled, almost all the catechists who had attended the impressive ordination ceremony went away with renewed determination to work towards the goal of ordination[1].

As the MHM required its African priests to meet exactly the same requirements as the European priests[2], the training for ordination was vigorous and lengthy. Consequently, by 1918, the MHM had not had a Musoga, or any African for that matter, ordained a priest. Although the MHM was affected - perhaps only less dractically - as was the CMS by the outbreak of the First World War and its aftermath, the MHM European missionaries in Busoga were able to cope with the new situation without the assistance of the ordained African priests. They were able to do this because they continued, unlike the CMS, receiving substantial reinforcements from Europe[3]. Also the MHM had a relatively smaller, but rapidly growing, Christian community than the

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1 Interview with Kezekiya Nkobera 7 March 1972 at Buluya

2 Supra, p. 183.

3 For example, between 1914 and 1922, the number of the MHM European priests in Uganda rose from 53 to 64; that of the Sisters from 9 to 14. The figures for the particular areas of the Upper Nile Vicariate were not available. Information was derived from the St. Joseph's Advocate, 1914, 1922.

CMS[1]. It was estimated in 1921, for example, that the Protestants (CMS) population in Busoga was about three times that of the Roman Catholics[2]. It is true that the Christian population was sparsely scattered all over the country. But the European priests, being celibates and relatively free from heavy commitment to educational work at the mission stations[3] - unlike their CMS counterparts - were highly mobile. It was primarily their being highly mobile that enabled the European priests to visit at least twice a year and minister the sacraments to the local Catholic congregations. In case of an emergency, the priests were always ready to respond to the call of the catechist. Also the Catholic congregations were encouraged to maintain direct contact with the priests by visiting the Mission Church "on the great feast-days for the reception of the sacraments"[4].

It is now clear that by the end of this period (1918) the CMS, whose policy was to build a self-governing Church, had gone ahead of the MHM in granting responsibilities of

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1 See, for example, Table II.

2 Hewitt G. The Problem of Success. A History of the CMS 1910-1942. SCM Press 1971. vol.i p.214.

3 Supra, Table II.

4 S.J.A., Winter quarter 1902. vol.iv no.10 p.278. Mill Hill Archives.

varied importance to the Basoga professionals. The ordination of Wabuleta represented an important development in the gradual process of sharing power and church responsibilities, and it marked the beginning of a new period in which the Basoga professionals of both missions were increasingly allowed to have more power and responsibilities by their European colleagues. One should be careful to avoid stressing the roles of the catechists and clergymen without mention being made of the contribution of the laymen. One of the most important groups of laymen who contributed enormously to church growth in Busoga were the chiefs. It is therefore important, at this stage, to establish the role of the chiefs in the life and development of the Church in Busoga.

Table IV

The 1918 CMS staff list for Busoga was a follows:

Station	Staff
Jinja . . .	Rev Kitching A. Archdeacon Rev Musisi*
Iganga . . .	Rev and Mrs Mathers Miss Welsh A. Rev Wabuleta (Musoga, ordained May 1918) Rev Namuyenga S.* transferred to Busiya in mid-1918
Kamuli . . .	Rev and Mrs Wilson A. Rev Rogers (in charge of Balangira High School) Miss Brown
Kaliro . . .	Mukasa E.*
Wesunire . .	Kiwawu Y.*

Proceedings of the CMS 1918 p.lx For organisation purposes Kaliro came under Iganga (Rev Mathers) while Wesunire was under Kamuli (Rev Wilson).

* Baganda clergymen.

NB As the catechists and basizi numbered then over three-hundred their names do not appear on this list.

CHAPTER IV: CHIEFS AND CHURCH WORK 1900-1940[1]

The Initial Attempt to Make Christian Chiefs

One of the important results of the "Christian Revolution" in Buganda (1886-1892) was that the Christians, as Low has observed, gained control of the traditional political order, thus making Christianity "the religion of Baganda and for the most part the only politically recognised religion"[2]. In other words the "Christian Revolution" had helped to create a new kind of chief, the Christian chief, and had aided the introduction of the idea of an "Established Religion" which, by and large, was Anglicanism (CMS). These developments in Buganda influenced the pattern of evangelisation and Church growth in the neighbouring areas, where Christianity from Buganda was introduced by both European and Baganda missionaries.

In Busoga, as indeed elsewhere in Uganda, the MHM and the CMS first attempted to evangelise the important Basoga chiefs whose influence the missionaries wished to use to get the Church established. Some of the responsibilities

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1 The chiefs who are discussed in this chapter are mainly the important chiefs who, following the administrative changes introduced in 1905 by the British with Kakungulu's help, were called Saza (county) and Gombolola (sub-county) chiefs.

2 Low, Religion and Society in Buganda, p.16.

the missionaries expected the Christian cheifs to assume have been cited before[1], but it is worth adding that a Christian chief formed the "central pillar", according to Bishop Willis, on which the Church rested. Consequently, he was expected, although he was not paid for his services to the Church, to involve himself in every aspect of church life including attending church councils and fostering church education[2]. The MHM, who thought less in Erastian terms, having a very great respect for clerical leadership, do not seem to have seen the Christian chief as a "central pillar". However, like the CMS, they expected especially in the pioneer period, their Basoga chiefs to influence their people to join the Roman Catholic Church[3] and to supply the urgently needed labour and building materials to build churches and mission stations[4].

The initial attempts to evangelise the old and important Basoga chiefs were frustrated first by the chiefs themselves who were happy to co-operate with the missionaries but were not willing to become Christians[5]. Secondly there

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1 Supra, p. 115.

2 Willis, op.cit. p.66-68.

3 Fr. Van Term to the Rector MHM. S.J.A. Summer quarter 1900. vol.III no.25 p.488-489. Supra, p.198.

4 Biermans, op.cit. p.17.

5 Supra, p.115-116.

was the threat of the advent of Islam. Munulo Menyha, the traditional ruler of Bugweri, had come under the influence of Islam which had been quietly spreading in Busoga through the Baganda refugees who had fled to Busoga during the 1880s religious struggles in Buganda. Menyha who had been circumcised by Yusufu Luzige, a Muganda refugees, waged a Jihad in 1896 in an attempt to convert the people in his state to Islam[1]. The British government, concerned about Menyha's activities and worried about a possible general uprising, arrested and imprisoned Menyha and his associates the following year[2]. This step did not, to the dismay of the missionaries, arrest the growth of Islam in Busoga.

In 1900, for example, the MHM recorded that the Mohammedans had intensified their propagation of Islam and that several chiefs had been circumcised[3]. A more alarming report came from the CMS who claimed that the number of

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1 Gwandhaye Y.B. "Islam in Bugweri". Graduating History Essay. 1970/71. History Department Library, Makerere University.

2 George Wilson to the Marquess Salisbury, 5 October 1897. Confidential Prints, East and Central Africa. January to March 1898. Letter no.23 p.14-15.

3 Bukaleba Diary. 5 November 1900. Mill Hill Archives.

chiefs - probably minor chiefs - who had been circumcised was as high as thirty[1]. This was a major threat to the Christian missionaries and particularly the CMS, who had been working to establish the Protestant ascendancy in Busoga. Consequently, bishop Tucker exerted pressure on the British government to restrict the growth of Islam in Busoga.

The occasion which provided bishop Tucker with the opportunity to voice his complaints was the employment of Saleh, a Muganda Muslim, as adviser to the young Wakoli in 1900[2]. Bishop Tucker, writing to the Special Commissioner Sir Harry Johnston, wished to find out whether the new development represented government policy or the policy of the local European officer. The Bishop, who wondered whether Christianity would be allowed to grow under a Moslem government, also took liberty to remind the Commissioner, "thrice has this mission and the lives of all the missionaries been in imminent peril from Mohammedans"[3].

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1 Rev. Skeens S.R. Annual Letters. Extracts from Missionary Letters 1900. CMS Archives p.215.

2 Tarrant to the Special Commissioner 10 December 1900. Inward. Class A.10. Entebbe Archives.

Wakoli was the traditional title of the ruler of Bukoli.

3 Tucker to Johnston, 29 November 1900. CMS Inward A.22. 1900-1906. Entebbe Archives.

In his reply to Tucker, Johnston made no attempt to conceal his dislike for Islam and he attributed the deterioration of the situation in Busoga to the incompetence of Mr. Tarrant who was the acting Collector there[1]. In a separate letter, the Commissioner reminded Tarrant that encouraging Islam which, he claimed, always opposed the administration of a Christian power, was against the interests of the British government[2]. Tarrant was evidently displeased with the official reproach but he took steps to caution Saleh against favouring his co-religionists. Further he persuaded two chiefs, who had previously become Muslims, to give up Islam in order to become Christians[3].

It is now clear that it was not only for religious purposes that the spread of Islam in Busoga came under attack but also because the political implications of Islam, as indicated above, caused concern in both missionary and administration circles. Hence the concerted efforts of both the British administration and the missionaries in

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1 Johnston to Tucker. 1 December 1900. CMS Outward A.23. 1900-1906. Entebbe Archives.

2 The Special Commissioner to the Collector (Busoga). 3 December 1900. Outward. Class A. 1900-1901. Entebbe Archives.

3 Tarrant to the Special Commissioner. 10 December 1900. Inward. Class A.10. Entebbe Archives.

an attempt to keep, as had been done in Buganda, the influence of Islam at a low level where it could be contained by the Christian or Protestant establishment[1]. Thus by 1900, Christianity was beginning to show signs of asserting itself as the only politically recognised religion of the Basoga.

This development was further illustrated by one of Tarrant's Muslim chiefs who is alleged to have said that he was changing his religion to become a Christian because "the government desired it"[2]. However, the Muslims still retained some religious and political influence in Busoga. For example, Ali Lwanga[3] occupied, until 1907, the strategically important position of station interpreter at Jinja. Further in 1904, Skeens claimed that he had received "reports

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1 This policy of "containment" was introduced by Captain Lugard who, following the Bangereza - Bafalansa confrontation in 1892, awarded the chieftainships on a religious basis and the Bangereza (Protestants) who had been Lugard's allies, received considerably more political authority than either the Bafalansa (Roman Catholics) or the Muslims. In the 1900 Buganda Agreement, Sir Harry Johnston retained Lugard's policy of "containment" by giving eleven counties (Amasaza)(plural) to the Protestants; eight counties to the Roman Catholics and one county to the Muslims. Langlands B. and Namirembe G. Studies on the Geography of Religion in Uganda. Occasional Paper no. 4 Geography Department, Makerere University 1967 p.6,13.

2 Tarrant to the Special Commissioner 10 December 1900. Inward. Class A.10. Entebbe Archives.

3 Lwanga was one of the Muslim refugees who had fled to Busoga in 1889. See p. 65.

"of defections from Christians to Mohammedans. One was a promising chief ..."[1]. But with the establishment of the Protestant ascendancy in 1907[2] and the removal of Lwanga from the Deputy Commissioner's office, Muslim influence suffered a major blow.

Towards the end of 1899 there was in Naika's country, Bugabula (north Busoga), a case of incendiarism involving a CMS Church there[3]. Although the incident was not in itself very significant, it triggered off several important developments which were to have far reaching effects on the Christian movement in Busoga. The acting Collector, Captain C.W. Fowler, wishing to bring north Busoga under more effective government control, used the incident as an excuse to send a punitive military expedition against Naika. Naika was deposed and his young brother Nadiope, a boy of about eight years old, was appointed by Fowler to replace Naika. Two Basoga notables, Isaka Kagwa and Kategere, who were later replaced by the Baganda, Kasibante and Senadari, were also appointed to act as Nadiope's regents[4].

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1 Skeens, Extracts from Annual Letter. February 1904 CMS Archives p.191.

2 See, for example, Table V.

3 Skeens S.R. "Tour of North Busoga". Mengo Notes December 1900, Vol:i,No:8,p.30. CMS Archives G3, A7/0.

4 Lubogo, op.cit. p.47.
See also Boyle, the Sub-Collector at Jinja, to G. Wilson, 2 April 1906, Busoga Correspondence, Inward vol.III Entebbe Archives. Boyle listed the regents as Kisame and Kategere. It is possible that Kagwa and Kisame were the same person.

The official explanation for Naika's deposition was unusually brief and vague. The statement Fowler sent to the Deputy Commissioner simply stated, "there had been disturbances in Gabula's (Naika) country and Naika had been deposed"[1]. It seems, however, that the people of Bugabula, some of whom were evidently embittered by Naika's deposition, were not told why their chief had been deposed. This created a situation which was conducive to the generation and rapid spread of political rumours. The most widely spread and, certainly, believed rumour was that Naika's deposition was initiated by H.W. Weatherhead, the CMS missionary at Iganga, who, on learning the news that the CMS Church had been burned down, went to Jinja where he was given government troops with orders to arrest Naika[2].

Although Weatherhead did not lead the British troops to arrest Naika, it is certain that he played a major role in the latter's arrest. When he received the news of the burned Church, Weatherhead rushed to Naika's capital and found that Naika, who had heard that the British troops were on their way to arrest him, was planning to flee from his

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1 Fowler to the Deputy Commissioner. 1 August 1900 Busoga Correspondence A.10 Inward vol.I 1900-1901 Entebbe Archives.

2 Lubogo Y.K. op.cit. p.46. Also Interview with Nabikamba on 21 November 1971 at Busanda.

capital. Weatherhead prevented Naika's escape by putting "a guard of Nubian soldiers over him and his uncle"[1]. When the British troops arrived, Naika, who was virtually Weatherhead's prisoner, was deposed and Weatherhead is said to have persuaded Fowler to appoint Nadiope (Naika's brother) a former CMS pupil at Naminage, to fill Naika's post[2].

For their involvement into the affairs leading to Naika's deposition, the CMS and the British government were resented, at least initially, by some of the people who wanted the status quo maintained in Bugabula. A great deal of the resentment and, even opposition, came from the sub-chiefs who had been serving under Naika and were, understandably, anxious about the future of their political positions. It was mainly with the latter group of chiefs that the MHM, which hitherto had kept out of the limelight, began to identify itself. With the CMS-government-Nadiope supporters on one hand and the sub-chiefs-MHM on the other, a head-on collision between the two rival parties was inevitable.

In 1900 the MHM reported several cases of persecution, harassment and intimidation against their supporters. Two Roman Catholic sub-chiefs were alleged to have been

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1 Mengo Notes. September 1900. vol.i no.5 p.18.

2 Lubogo, p.47.

threatened with the loss of their chieftainships by Nadiope's Katikiro (prime minister)[1]. The gravity of the situation was revealed in the Collector's monthly report in which he wrote:

> Religious matters in Gabula's district are causing difficulty among the individual followers of the CMS and RC (MHM) Missions which is regrettable ... considerable animosity appears to be felt by followers of the RC Mission towards the CMS and vice versa[2].

However, with the increasing government control which was primarily responsible for preventing similar situations developing elsewhere in Busoga, the Bugabula situation was soon settled. By 1904, when several cases of assault against tax collectors in Bugabula were reported[3], they did not seem to have involved any incidents of religious persecution.

One of the important results of the religio-political confrontation in Bugabula was that the differences between the MHM and CMS had been highlighted. This may well have enabled many of the Basoga - even at that early period - to make a clear distinction between the MHM and the CMS. Thus

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1 Bukaleba Diary. 23 August 1900. Mill Hill Archives.

2 Collector's monthly report to the Deputy Commissioner, 2 September 1900. Busoga Correspondence A.10. Inward, vol.I 1900-1901. Entebbe Archives.

3 Collector's monthly report, February 1904. Busoga Correspondence A.11. 1901-1906. Entebbe Archives.

the decision to follow a particular mission society would often have been made with some knowledge - possibly not always the right knowledge - of what the mission society stood for.[1]

Secondly, the inter-relatedness of politics and religion had been demonstrated and the government's interest in protecting and promoting Christianity had been disclosed[2]. Consequently the CMS which had closely identified itself with the government derived considerable benefits from that relationship. In Bugabula, for example, young Nadiope realised that he owed his position to the influence of the CMS and military might of the colonial government. Therefore as an indication of loyalty and, perhaps, religious conviction, he went out of his way - possibly with CMS guidance - and ordered his subjects to destroy "their idols", to stop worshipping their old gods, to stop smoking hemp and drinking beer (mwenge)[3]. Nadiope who was advising his people to embrace the new religion did so himself when he allowed Rev. S.R. Skeens to baptise him with the name of Yosiya at Jinja on 9 June 1901[4].

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1 For the marks of distinction between the CMS and MHM see p. 132-134.

2 See below, p. 219.

3 Skeens 'Tour of North Busoga', Mengo Notes December 1900. p.11. CMS Archives G3, A7/O.

4 Skeens Mengo Notes, July 1901. vol.II no.3. p.63. CMS Archives G3, A7/O.

He was the first important Musoga chief to become a Christian. Soon after his baptism, Skeens again reported that Nadiope had begun building a large Church for the CMS at Kamuli[1].

Nakiope's "conversion" and co-operation with the CMS had helped to show the Basoga, particularly those who aspired to becoming chiefs, what was expected of a Christian chief. What is more, Nadiope's co-operation with the CMS may have added some momentum to the CMS propaganda - which was rapidly becoming popular - that only the CMS adherents became chiefs.

The MHM, like the CMS, had made some "conversions" among the hierarchy of chiefs in Bugabula[2]. However, unlike the CMS who had "converted" the chief at the top of the local administration there, the MHM had gained minor chiefs who had relatively limited influence, let alone authority and power. The MHM's seemingly desperate drive to push some of their followers into the local administration in Bugabula soon caused them to clash with the colonial administration.

In May 1904 Mwamula, a monor Roman Catholic chief who

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1 Skeens, Mengo Notes December 1900, p.31. CMS Archives G3, A7/O.

2 Supra, p.212.

was to be replaced, named Kerementi, an Anglican, as his successor. However, Fr. Brandsma of Kamuli protested at Kerementi's choice. He suggested that another Roman Catholic, Walubo, should succeed Mwamula. Boyle was evidently unhappy with Brandsma's interference and he reported the incident to the Commissioner requesting him to ask the MHM Bishop to advise Brandsma against taking a keen interest in the local administration[1]. Bishop Hanlon was contacted immediately[2]. But the Bishop defended his priest and indicated that he was also concerned with who replaced an outgoing chief, "... especially if his (chief's) place is taken by those who will hamper our work and perhaps frustrate our past labour"[3].

The Mwamula incident led to three developments. First Brandsma's action challenged and raised the issue of the colonial government's policy on the appointment of the local chiefs[4]. Secondly Bishop Hanlon's letter to Hayes

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1 Boyle A. to the Commissioner (Colonel Hayes Sadler) 1 June 1904. Mill Hill Mission. Inward A.25 1900-1906. Entebbe Archives.

2 Colonel Hayes Sadler to Bishop Hanlon. 7 June 1904. Mill Hill Mission. Outward A.25 1900-1906. Entebbe Archives.

3 Bishop Hanlon to Colonel Hayes Sadler, 11 June 1904. Inward A.25 1900-1906. Entebbe Archives.

4 See p.228-229 for further discussion on this issue.

Sadler helped to show the mistrust and suspicion with which Protestant chiefs were viewed and, apparently, the reverse was also true. The preconceived impressions about the Protestant chiefs affected the relationship between them and the MHM church workers, very often to the disadvantage of the MHM[1]. Thirdly, the incident may have forced the colonial administration to harden its attitude against the MHM in Busoga where the MHM had already identified with the dissident sub-chiefs in Bugabula.

The Baganda Chiefs, Regents and the Church

The appointment of young Nadiope to the Bugabula chieftaincy, followed by his religious "conversion" and his subsequent education in the CMS schools at Mengo and Budo 1903-1908[2], marked the beginning of a new situation in which several principal young Basoga chiefs were sent, with the approval of the colonial government, to the CMS school at Mengo while their chieftaincies were left in the hands of government-appointed Baganda regents[3]. This arrangement was convenient to the colonial government which was anxious to keep an efficient local administration going

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1 Infra, p. 227; 237.

2 Lubogo, p.47

3 Supra, p. 129.

while the young Basoga chiefs were undergoing training to enable them to act as a new bureaucratic elite. The CMS was also happy with the arrangement as it placed the young chiefs in their care, thus giving them the opportunity to influence and shape the character of the young chiefs in preparation for the task of serving "God in Church and State".[1]

In 1906 Semei Kakungulu, the well-known Muganda administrator in Bukedi was transferred to Busoga where he was given the post of President of Busoga Lukiiko[2]. Further administrative changes led to the appointment of more Baganda administrators who were Protestants and in 1907, as Table V indicates, the Busoga administration was predominantly run by the Protestant Ganda.

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1 Weatherhead H.T. Uganda, A Chosen Vessel CMS 1911, p.53

2 Kakungulu had had many contacts with Busoga before. He did this while he held the Mulondo Chieftaincy in Bugerere 1889-1892. Also he is said to have joined the military expedition which restored Nyiro (1892) as ruler of Kigulu (see p. 109-110) Further in 1898, Kakungulu had been appointed Katikiro or chief judge of Busoga but William Grant, who disliked the idea of the Baganda governing the Busoga, terminated the appointment in the same year. Twaddle M. Draft notes of Kakungulu's Biography (forthcoming). Twaddle M. Politics in Bukedi, 1900-1939: an historical study of administrative change among the segmentary peoples of eastern Uganda under the impact of British colonial rule. Ph.D. thesis for the University of London 1967. p.91.

As government appointees, the Baganda administrators did not have to look to Basoga traditional society for the legitimatisation of their authority. They probably saw themselves as a group of 'expatriates' whose base of authority was the British government to whom they owed their jobs and loyalty. They were, therefore, not heavily handicapped in the execution of their duties by the "strength of kinship ties"[1]. Thus the relatively "free" position in which they found themselves enabled the Baganda administrators to implement government policy efficiently in order to keep their jobs.

Although the government did not then run education institutions, it offered financial support to missionary schools[2] and the African local government authorities were always encouraged to use their influence to support the missionary schools[3]. The chiefs therefore tended to regard, perhaps with exaggerated emphasis, the promotion of missionary education in their areas as another government policy whose implementation was as important as, say, tax collecting

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1 Fallers L. "The Predicament of the Modern African Chief: an instance from Uganda". American Anthropologist vol.57 1955 p.301.

2 See, for example, p.132; 146-147.

3 Carter F., Ph.D. 1967, p.67.
Also Oliver, op.cit. p.207.

or recruiting of road gangs. As missionary education was then inextricably mingled with motives of religious "conversion" and evangelisation, asking the chiefs to encourage missionary schools amounted to asking them to promote Christianity. Therefore the ascendancy of the Ganda Protestants in the Busoga administration may well have given rise to high hopes in the CMS circles, who may have expected the Ganda chiefs to use their reputed efficiency combined with a strong sense of their religious duty to aid the growth of the CMS in Busoga.

It is worth observing, however, that although Kakungulu had been instrumental in causing Christian expansion, particularly in the early period, in Bukedi[1], his arrival in Busoga did not receive wide coverage in the CMS press. The only article written about him in the Uganda Notes simply mentioned Kakungulu's appointment and his intention of building a house on Kirinya hill near Jinja[2].

This seemingly cool reception was because in 1906 the CMS again felt that Uganda was in danger of being invaded by Islam. Islam was alleged to be slowly drifting south from the Sudan into northern Uganda and another wave of

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1 Twaddle, Ph.D. Thesis 1967, particularly p.114-158. Also Roberts A. "The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda", Journal of African History, III 3(1962) p.443.

2 Uganda Notes September 1906. vol.VII no.9 p.134

Islam - it was feared - was about to be introduced into eastern Uganda by the railway from the East Coast. It was warned, "there is a distinct danger of the Eastern Province becoming nominally Moslem before Christianity has made for itself a favourable impression on the minds of the people".[1] It was during this period of another Islam scare that Kakungulu, to the disappointment of the CMS missionaries, was reported always to have "a large retinue of Moslems around him"[2]. In other words, to the CMS, Kakungulu seemed to be drifting to the wrong side of the fence. Hence the somewhat lukewarm reception from the CMS.

Kakungulu may not have been as outstanding in promoting CMS in Busoga as, say, his life-time rival Apolo Kagwa was in Buganda, but when he came to Busoga, his company of sixty men included some Christians among whom was Yowasi Mivule, his kàtikiro, whom Twaddle has described as "a staunch Protestant who had joined Kakungulu when his former patron in Budu had requested him to become a Catholic"[3]. The Baganda Christians brought to Busoga by Kakungulu contributed both directly and indirectly to the growth of Anglicanism there.

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1 "The Mohammedan Question". Uganda Notes vol.viii no.8 p.123-124.

2 Ibid, p.124.

3 Twaddle M. Draft notes of Kakungulu's Biography (forthcoming).

Indeed Kakungulu and Mivule, for example, were members of the Iganga busumba council[1], and it is likely that the Baganda Christians influenced indirectly some Basoga, who wished to appear like the Baganda, to become Christians. It seems, therefore, that Kakungulu's contribution to the growth of the CMS in Busoga may have been far greater than the CMS were prepared to admit. Indeed the CMS's cool attitude to Kakungulu persisted until his resignation in 1913. The news of Kakungulu's exit was received by the CMS with a much caution as his entry into Busoga. The CMS seemed to be more concerned with the political rather than the religious consequences following Kakungulu's exit[2].

By and large, the CMS missionaries in Busoga were pleased with the enthusiasm which the rest of the Baganda chiefs (regents) showed for missionary work in their areas. Some of the Baganda chiefs encouraged missionary work simply because the government and the European missionaries wanted them to do so. But others like Serwano Twasenga of Bulamogi did it not only in response to a government demand but also in response to their duty as Christian chiefs.

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1 Ekitabo kyo Lukiiko lwe Iganga 17 April 1911, Iganga busumba Archives. Kakungulu was not a regular attendant but Mivule used to attend the council regularly.

2. Conclusion arrived at on the basis of Twaddle's draft notes of Kakungulu's Biography.

The CMS missionaries[1] and my informants were full of praises for Twasenga's contribution to missionary work in Bulamogi. It was surprising to discover that the informants associated Twasenga with the expansion of the CMS in Bulamogi more than they did Eriya Mukasa who had been the clergyman there for twenty-four years[2].

Twasenga's approach to missionary work which was, in fact, common to the rest of the Baganda chiefs, was two-fold. At one level he personally participated in the various aspects of Church life, and at another level he mobilised his sub-chiefs, irrespective of their religion, to support the Church schools. Twasenga's two-fold process was best explained by Aloni Mukunya who had been a catechist in Bulamogi while Twasenga was a regent there:

> As a Saza Chief, he (Twasenga) was an able administrator and he did all he could to see that Christianity was spread all over Bulamogi. While on his frequent official safaris in Bulamogi, he urged his subjects to build churches in their areas. He also used to ask the chiefs in the area he was visiting to encourage parents to take their children to okusoma (read) at the little church in the village. He usually told the Gombolola chief to see to it that the churches in his area were maintained and that he (Gombolola chief) obtained abasomesa from the clergyman in the area. Twasenga was also in the habit of

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1 Rev. Mathers H. Extracts from Annual Letters 1907, p.245, CMS Archives.

2. Supra, p. 194.

> buying, in hundreds, the small CMS beginners' booklets called Amateka (commandments) which he freely gave to the children wherever he went visiting. I think he did more than anyone else to spread Christianity in Bulamogi[1].

It was important to mobilise the support of the sub-chiefs since they were more in frequent contact with the ordinary people than the county-chiefs or regents. The sub-chiefs were, therefore, better placed to find, for example, labour to build the omusomesa's house or school, repair a leaking roof of the Church or build a new one. The sub-chiefs normally exploited their contacts and communication links to persuade their subjects to work for the Church and to send their children to start okusoma at the little village Church or "School". If the children failed to come to the "School", the local chief, in co-operation with the local omusomesa, would hunt for the children, seize them and drag them to the "School". This happened, for example, in the Namalemba (Bugweri county) and Ivukula (Busiki county) areas in the 1910s. This brutal practice, which does not seem to have been widespread in Busoga, was quickly abandoned because it had been realised that it both defamed and made the CMS, to a considerable

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1 Interview with Aloni Mukunya on 20 October 1971 at Bulago.

extent, rather unpopular[1].

The government policy of religious toleration and "fairness" on the part of the chiefs to all the religious bodies[2] was in direct conflict with the missionary interest and practice whereby the Christian chief was called upon by both the missionary and the chief's personal faith to aid the growth, expansion and sustenance of his particular denomination. Most of the Christian chiefs, particularly those who were very active in promoting their denomination, would be caught at the centre of this conflict.

The MHM who mistrusted the Protestant chiefs[3] and were

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1 Interview with Aloni Mukunya on 20 October 1971 at Bulago. Also Interview with Erieza and Sala Byansi on 21 October 1971 at Butongole.
The practice of hunting and seizing children by both the local chief and the local omusomesa in order to take them to school was also common - at least initially - in the Eastern Province district of Bugisu (Buwalasi area).
Sweeting R. "The Growth of the Church in Buwalasi". The Bulletin of the Society for African Church History. vol.II no.4. 1968 p.339.

2 Busoga Collector to the sub-Commissioner Eastern Province. 16 July 1907. SMP 952/07.

3 Supra, p.216-217.
The Roman Catholic mistrust of the Protestants was not only limited to the African chiefs, it was extended to the Protestant British officials as well. For example, in the Bukaleba Diary one missionary recorded,

> Up to now he (Alexander Boyle) would not give me the least material assistance in getting workmen or anything. He is a Protestant and we will have to suffer more from him I am afraid.

Bukaleba Diary. 30 November 1904. Mill Hill Archives.

anxious to see that the enormous political advantage the latter enjoyed was not unduly used to facilitate the growth of the CMS in Busoga, acted as a self-appointed watchdog for the government, reporting cases of violation of the government policy on religion. The MHM reported several cases - some of which were possibly exaggerated - ranging from Protestant bigotry[1] to Protestant favouritism.

In 1922, for example, Daudi Mutekanga, a Protestant and regent saza chief of Bugabula[2], was accused of using unpaid labour to build a CMS Church at Bukwenge (Kamuli) and three CMS teachers' houses at Wesunire. It was also alleged that he had ordered the people in the neighbourhood of Wesunire "to provide food for the native CMS schoolmaster there until things are in the proper order"[3]. Mutekanga denied these accusations[4]. However, two years later, the District Commissioner, who may well have either observed Protestant favouritism personally or had increasingly come

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1 Fr. Van Term. Kampala Diary VII. 24 December 1901. Mill Hill Archives.

2 See p.230 for more information on Mutekanga.

3 Bishop Biermans to the Provincial Commissioner (Eastern Province) 20 May 1922. File IX History, Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

4 P.C. in reply to Bishop Biermans' letter. 15 June 1922. File IX History. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

under pressure from the Roman Catholic missionaries, is reported to have cautioned the Basoga chiefs against "all favouritism of one religion"[1].

The MHM would receive, on demand, some assistance in terms of labour, building materials or temporary accommodation for a newly arrived Roman Catholic omusomesa, from the Protestant chiefs, but they seldom appealed for help from the Protestant chiefs who did not have their confidence[2]. It seems that what was important to the MHM in Busoga was not to receive Protestant "handouts" but to break through the Protestant hegenomy. If this was done, the Protestant claim that the Roman Catholics were not eligible for chieftaincies would lose credibility. Secondly, and more important, the MHM would establish a body or party of influential chiefs who would work, with regard to religion, primarily in the interests of the MHM. The fact that even the Muslims had Ali Lwanga the regent in Luwuka, helping them to spread

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1 This was announced by Fr. Wright, as President of the Fathers' Lukiiko, at their annual meeting, 16 January 1924 File D/7/1. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2 Interview with Gusto Walabyeki, a Muganda Roman Catholic catechist who worked in Busoga between 1911 to 1940, on 26 December 1971, at Budini.
Also Interview with Fr. Thomas Kasadha whose father, Aginesiasi Gavamukulya, was a Roman Catholic catechist in the Iganga area towards the end of the first decade. The interview was held at Kyebando on 25 March 1972.

their faith[1] made the MHM more determined to get some of their "converts" become important chiefs. This would place the MHM in a position where they would compete favourably with the CMS.

The young "educated" Basoga chiefs and the Church

The period immediately before and after the outbreak of the First World War witnessed the return of the young Basoga chiefs who had graduated from the CMS Schools in Mengo and Budo[2]. The return of the young chiefs may well have delighted the CMS missionaries who expected the young chiefs to promote and sustain the CMS interests in Busoga. By contrast, the young chiefs' return may have created anxiety among the MHM who wondered whether and how the seemingly strengthened Protestant hegemony could be penetrated.

The unexpected death of Yosiya Nadiope in January 1913 provided an opening which the MHM thought it could use to penetrate the Protestant establishment. In a letter to the Chief Secretary, the MHM proposed that Leo Mugwere,

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1 Kasozi A.B. "Islam in Busoga" Paper for discussion presented at Makerere University, History Department, 1970. p.2.

2 For example, Yosiya Nadiope of Bugabula returned in 1909; Gidioni Oboja of Kigulu in 1915; Ezekieri Wako of Bulamogi in 1914 and Gidioni Wambuzi of Luwuka in 1916. Lubogo Y.K. op.cit. Pages 47, 37, 28 and 55.

who was fifteen years old, had been in the MHM school at Namilyango for the previous three years and was a son of the deposed chief, Naika, should be Nadiope's successor[1]. Further it was argued that the MHM needed an important chief because,

> ... though our adherents are numerous, they have never had a representative of any importance in the Lukiiko of that province. The most that they have in this respect has been a few minor chiefs, whose influence in our interests amounts to very little[2].

The Chief Secretary had indicated that the MHM's case would receive "due consideration"[3]. However, it was clear that Mugwere's candidature had very slim chances of being considered seriously. This was so for three reasons. First, as indicated before, the government was trying to establish the idea that a chief, whatever his religion, represented and served all his people without any religious bias. Although in practice religious bias was prevalent, the government was determined to give its policy time to develop rather than appoint chiefs on a religious basis.

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1 Fr. Matthews to the Chief Secretary, Mr. Wallis. 26 February 1913. File marked "History 1910-1913". Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2 Bishop Biermans to the Chief Secretary. 29 January 1913. File marked "History 1910-1913". Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

3 Chief Secretary to Bishop Biermans. 17 February 1913. Ibid.

Secondly, it should be remembered that Bugabula had a history of religio-political troubles. Therefore it may have been feared that the appointment of a Roman Catholic chief who was also the son of the deposed chief Naika would lead to a resumption of the religio-political turbulence as the new chief would perhaps seek to settle some old scores.

Thirdly, Leo Mugwere's rival, William Kadhumbula Nadiope, the three-year old son of the deceased chief, Yosiya Nadiope, was supported by the CMS which closely identified itself with the government. Also as Kadhumbula was the grandson of Apolo Kagwa[1], it is possible that the latter used his wide contacts and influence to make sure that his grandson succeeded his father. With the naming of Kadhumbula as Nadiope's successor and Daudi Mutekanga[2] as Kadhumbula's regent, the MHM hopes of penetrating the Protestant establishment suffered a major setback which

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1 Yosiya Nadiope and Susana Nansikombi (Kagwa's daughter) had been married by Rev. W.D. Kitukule at Namirembe (Buganda) on 27 February 1909.
Ebifa mu Buganda April 1909. no.27. p. 23.

2 Daudi Mutekanga was a Musoga and a Protestant. As a young man he traded in agricultural products, cattle and goats. He was later appointed a Muluka chief; was quickly promoted to become a Gombolola chief and in 1911 he became Yosiya Nadiope's Katikiro. On the latter's death, he became a regent, a position he held until February 1930 when he handed the chieftaincy to Kadhumbula. Lubogo Y.K. op.cit. p.48.

they did not recover from throughout the inter-war period.

The Basoga Christian chiefs who assumed administrative responsibilities just before the First World War and during the inter-war period were faced with a situation in which the Christian chiefs' role in the Church and his community, as first demonstrated by Nadiope[1], had been solidly established by the Baganda chiefs. Evidently the important Basoga Christian chiefs were expected, particularly by their religious denominations, to uphold that "established tradition". However, it would be inaccurate to suggest that the Basoga chiefs' involvement in church work was solely motivated by a desire to assume the established image of the Christian chief. There are other factors or motivations which should be examined.

First, the Basoga chiefs, like the Baganda chiefs before them, were concerned with the question of political survival. It was believed that one would only survive, politically, if one was efficient, and had the support of the missionaries. Since Naika's deposition, the Basoga chiefs had realised that one would not last very long as a chief if one did not co-operate with both the European missionaries and the abasomesa. This lesson, it seems,

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1 Supra, p. 214-215.

was passed from one generation of Basoga chiefs to another. As Nabikamba, who was a chief between 1913-1956, explained,

> ... I knew that if one wanted to be a good chief one had to 'okukolagana n'Eidini' (to co-operate and work with the Christian Church). I did this to the best of my ability. I think it was partly because of my keen interest in the development of the Church and the Church-related activities that I remained in office for so long[1].

It appears from Nabikamba's statement that the Basoga chiefs had an exaggerated understanding of the missionaries' influence with regard to the appointment of chiefs. The available evidence - for example, the appointment of the Muslims, Ali Lwanga in 1907 and Yusufu Balita in 1919[2] to the important chieftaincies of Luwuka and Bunya respectively - suggests that the Christian missionaries had only a limited and peripheral influence on the appointment[3] and dismissal of chiefs.

However, the Basoga chiefs retained an exaggerated understanding of the missionaries' political influence because they could hardly distinguish between the European administrator and the European missionary since they were

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1. Interview with Nabikamba on 8.March 1972 at Kituto. Nabikamba was educated in the CMS School at Mengo. He was appointed a Gombolola Chief in Bulamogi in 1913. In 1925, he was appointed a Saza Chief of Luwuka. He retained the Saza Chieftaincy until he retired in 1956.

2 Lubogo Y.K. op.cit. p.15.

3 Infra, p. 241.

all foreigners with the same colour and speaking the same language. Also the close co-operation between the British administrators and the European missionaries, particularly in the educational and medical fields further made it difficult for the Basoga chiefs to see a marked difference between the administrator and the missionary. Lastly, the European missionaries had, on several occasions, publicly involved themselves in Busoga politics[1]. This may have reaffirmed - as far as the Basoga chiefs were concerned - the missionaries' role in politics and their political influence. It was - at least initially - with this exaggerated understanding of the missionaries' political influence that most of the Basoga chiefs, fearful of the possible political repercussions resulting from lack of support for the Christian missions, tried to promote the Church and missionary schools in their areas.

Secondly, some of the Basoga Christian chiefs, like some of the Baganda chiefs before them, may have been motivated to support and promote Christianity and the Church schools by their religious convictions. Admittedly it is difficult to distinguish with any precision between the chiefs who involved themselves in Church work primarily

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1 See, for example, p. 211-212.

on the basis of their religious convictions and those who were motivated by other considerations. There is some evidence, however, which encourages one to suggest that some of the Christian chiefs acted as "church leaders" without necessarily thinking about the political or material benefits that might result from their actions. The best example of that kind of chief was Benefansi Bakaleka, a Roman Catholic Gombolola chief in Bugabula.

Immediately after the First World War there was an outbreak of plague in Busoga which hit the Bugabula area rather severely. Bakaleke's son who, according to Fr. Wright of Kamuli mission, had been working as a MHM catechist in Bugabula, caught the plague and died. On receiving the news Bakaleke is said to have taken on, together with his political work, "the duties of a catechist, teaching and baptising (only those in danger of dying) with heroic fortitude"[1].

Also, Lubogo recalled that there were several cases of some important Christian chiefs who used to give anonymous gifts of money to help the local congregation meet the cost of a church building, a new school building or the omusomesa's house[2]. The mention of anonymity here, helps

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1 Fr. Wright. Half Yearly Reports. August 1921. Found in File V, Written Reports 1919-40. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2 Interview with Lubogo on 29 March 1972 at Bugembe.

to indicate that the chiefs who made the donations were neither seeking publicity nor personal reward, but were, because of their religious convictions, primarily interested in helping to sustain and contribute to the growth of the Church in their areas.

Thirdly, some of the Basoga chiefs were motivated to support and promote the Church by both local (Sazaism) and national sentiments. Although the initial impact of colonialism on the Basoga traditional political system was rather hard, the subsequent political changes were introduced gradually into the system. For example, the principle of hereditary succession was respected and accepted by the colonial government until 1927 when the government officially stopped - with the exception of Kadhumbula[1] - making appointments on a hereditary basis[2]. The government did not however start transferring Saza chiefs until 1938 when the first transfer was made[3]. As the Saza chiefs, and

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1 Supra, p.230, **footnote 2.**

2 Lubogo, p.193.
Between 1900 and 1927 only two Saza chiefs, Nuwa Muzira of Luwuka and Yekoniya Zirabumuzale of Bugweri, were appointed to areas where they had no hereditary claims. Muzira was appointed Saza chief of Bugweri (see table V) and Zirabamuzale was appointed Saza chief of Kigulu in 1922. Interview with Nabikamba (Nuwa Muzira was Nabikamba's father). 21 November 1971 at Busanda.

3 Fallers, op.cit. p.152.

indeed their sub-chiefs, were allowed throughout this period (inter-war period) to work in their pre-colonial states, the chiefs and their subjects retained, to a considerable extent, their old identity with their particular pre-colonial states which came to be known as Amasaza (plural) during the colonial period.

The feeling of belonging to a particular Saza and the pride that went with it is described here as Sazaism. Sazaism had its shortcomings. A narrow and inward looking attitude allowed the old spirit of rivalry and competition between the states or Amasaza, to thrive. As Christianity was associated with progress and advancement, the growth and expansion of Christianity in one's area was replacing the old idea of military strength as the source of pride and mark of development. Consequently many of the important Basoga chiefs - and this is where they differed from their Baganda predecessors - felt obliged, if only to show that one's Saza was better developed than the next one, to promote missionary education (Protestant and Roman Catholic) and Christianity in their areas.

For example, when he was appointed a Saza chief to his hereditary Saza of Bulamogi in 1914, Ezekieri Wako, a

Protestant, is reputed to have continued with his predecessor's policy, with regard to Christianity, by threatening his sub-chiefs with expulsion if they neither sent their children to school nor encouraged their subjects to do so[1]. Although Wako himself complained about the reluctance of the Roman Catholic missionaries at Budini to accept his offer to help them, he occasionally visited Budini to give them encouragement[2]. Gusto Walabyeki still remembers how, during one of those occasional visits, Wako spoke to the pupils in the school urging them not to drop out of school as some of the other pupils had already done and that following his speech, there was a significant fall in the number of those who dropped out of the school[3]. Further, the Catholic Luganda paper, Munno (friend), paid tribute to Wako's material contribution to the building of their ekelezia (ecclesia) at Budini in 1915[4].

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1 Batanda S. "Bulamogi Relations with its Neighbours 1850-1920". History Graduating Essay 1971. History Department, Makerere University.

2 Conversation with Wako on 5 December at A. Kalikwani's home, Jinja.

3 Interview with Gusto Walabyeki on 7 March 1972 at Budini.

4 Balikanzeko E. "Okuyingira ekelezia ye Budini mu Busoga", Munno, 11 April 1915. p.106. Makerere University Library.

Sazaism, as already indicated, was to some extent, as one anonymous writer in "Ebifa mu Buganda" complained in 1920, an obstacle to the development of Busoga unity. The anonymous author further appealed to the Basoga to think about themselves first as Basoga and not as people from this or that Saza[1]. The importance of the anonymous letter is that it reveals that by 1920, there were people in Busoga, some chiefs among them (the anonymous author claimed he was a Musoga) who were beginning to identify themselves not only with their Amasaza but also with a larger political unit, Busoga.

In the 1920s the idea of Busoga unity was felt more strongly among the Basoga Christian chiefs than their subjects. This was mainly because almost all the important Christian chiefs, especially the Protestant ones, had had experience of the world outside the Saza. As indicated before, most of the important Basoga chiefs had been to the CMS Schools, Budo and Mengo where, as bishop Tucker once observed, the social intercourse between the young chiefs from the various parts of Uganda was expected to create a "unifying influence"[2]. The impact of that unify-

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1 "Obutatabagana bwa Busoga" (the Disunity of Busoga) Ebifa mu Buganda, August 1920. no.163 p.187.

2 Bishop Tucker A. op.cit. vol.ii p.329.

ing influence, coupled with the experience of living in Buganda which was a big centralised and prestigious kingdom, seem to have widened the young chiefs' understanding and political aspiration. Although they retained their identities with their Amasaza, they wished to see the creation of a Busoga state comparable to the prestigious kingdom of Buganda. This was particularly reflected in the chiefs' repeated requests to have a permanent President of the Busoga Lukiiko[1] of which Kakungulu had been President from 1906 to 1913. The appointment of Ezekieri Wako (former Saza chief of Bulamogi) in August 1918 as President of Busoga for two years, followed in 1922 by his confirmation as permanent President[2] and the subsequent assumption of the title of "Isebantu Kyabazinga" (the father of the people who unites them) are some of the major indications of the growing Basoga consciousness.

This incipient Busoga loyalty in turn motivated the chiefs to promote Christianity. The Busoga realised that Buganda's source of pride and prestige was not only her political and economic development but also her innumerable

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1 Governor of Uganda (R.T. Coryndon) to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. 1 July 1922.
Eastern Province. Busoga Lukiiko. SMP. 7318/18. Entebbe Archives.

2 Ibid.

schools, Churches and wide-spread literacy. Thus if Busoga was to develop into a modern state comparable to Buganda, it was necessary to develop the political institutions as indicated above and also to promote missionary schools and Churches there. Initially, as already argued, the important Basoga chiefs worked primarily for the growth of Christianity in their local areas. However, as a result of the growing Basoga consciousness, one begins to see in the 1920s a growing concern, on the part of some of the important chiefs, with both church and school work outside their own Amasaza.

In 1922, for example, the Busoga Lukiiko voted 2123/50 shillings (about £106) to help the Balangira High School, at Kamuli, the Busoga equivalent of Budo, solve its financial problems[1]. Secondly, there was increasing participation either in church committees or building projects by chiefs in areas other than their own. In 1925 the Saza chiefs of Kigulu and Bukooli were members of an ad hoc committee which the Gombolola chief of Namutumba, Musa Kaduyu, had formed to organise the building of a church school there[2].

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1 Watson, A History of Church Missionary Society High Schools in Uganda 1900-1924. Ph.D. Thesis, University of East Africa 1968. p.222. Makerere University Library.

2 Kibedi E.M. "Okuggulawo Namutumba School". Ebifa mu Uganda. January 1935. no.336 p.4.

Also Ezekieri Wako, "Isebantu Kyabazinga", Zirabamuzale of Bugweri, Lubogo of Bulamogi and Nabikamba of Luwuka were listed in 1939 as some of the Christian chiefs who had given material help to enable a brick Church to be built at Kiyunga (Luwuka)[1].

The declining role of the chiefs in Church leadership

In spite of the chiefs' involvement with the life of the Church and their efforts to act as the Church's secular leaders, the European missionaries of both CMS and MHM societies were not satisfied with the Christian chiefs' performance. The missionaries complained about the low morals of the chiefs and their inadequate support for their Church. For example, the half yearly MHM report in 1919 from Iganga expressed concern about:

> "... Catholic youths who within one year of their obtaining a chiefship entirely through the influence of the mission, are living now in public sin, and instead of being in any way a help to us in our work are entirely useless - if not a positive hindrance."

The report further revealed that of a total of twenty Catholic chiefs, these would be mainly minor chiefs, only nine in 1919 could be permitted to receive the sacraments[2].

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1 "Okuyingira Ekanisa ya Yokana Omutukuvu N.A.C. Kiyunga" Ebifa mu Uganda. June 1939. no.389 p.148 (name of writer not given.

2 Fr. Wall, Half Yearly Report. August 21st 1919. File M/V Written Reports 1919-1940. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

The CMS which continued to benefit more than the MHM did from its close identification with the government, did not express its criticism of the Basoga Christian chiefs in comparably strong terms. But the occasional missionary claims that the chiefs were not giving them adequate support[1] are just as disturbing as Fr. Wall's report. What happened? Why did the Basoga Christian chiefs fall short of the image the European missionaries expected them to portray? To answer these questions satisfactorily, it is necessary to determine how the changing face of Busoga in the inter-war period affected the Christian chiefs' leadership role in the Church.

One of the obvious preliminary remarks worth making is that the missionaries seem to have over-estimated the impact which the boarding school would have on the young chiefs who went through them. For example, although Gidioni Oboja of Kigulu had been fully exposed to missionary tutelage and influence in the CMS Schools at Mengo and Budo for about twelve years, when he became the Saza chief of Kigulu in 1915, the first thing he did, was to withdraw his brothers and sisters from the CMS schools in Busoga. It is alleged that he did this on the grounds

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1 Watson T. Ph.D. 1968. p.224, 306.
Also see Uganda Notes, September 1915. vol.16 p.484.

that his brothers and sisters would threaten his position if they received some education as he had done[1]. Oboja's character is said to have worsened as he became polygamous and started drinking heavily. In his book, Lubogo described Oboja as, "a heavy drinker and an enemy of the missionaries"[2]. Lubogo's verdict could be taken as a fair representation of the missionaries' attitude to Oboja.

The conduct of influential chiefs like Oboja must have been particularly disturbing to the missionaries because they realised that as the Church drew considerable support from the chiefs, the Church would tend to weaken if an influential chief weakened. This was one of the main disadvantages of the Church which relied considerably on the support of the chiefs.

It seems that the missionaries tended to explain the behaviour of men like Oboja only in terms of the personal weakness of the man concerned. It is doubtful whether the strength of the traditional values system was ever considered as a possible explanation or whether it ever occurred to the missionaries that the system of passing their values

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1 Interview with Nabikamba on 8 March 1972 at Kituto.

2 Lubogo Y.K. op.cit. p.37.
Lubogo further reveals that Oboja was finally dismissed on grounds of administrative incompetence in 1922. Ibid.

to the young chiefs could be less effective than they thought. As these two important considerations were ignored, the missionaries continued - to the dismay of the Christian chiefs - to see the chiefs generally as the source of moral decadence.

The subject of the immorality or polygamy of the chiefs in Uganda was discussed in two memoranda[1] sent to the Governor by the missionaries. The missionaries, who wrongly assumed that the bakopi generally aped their chiefs, expressed concern in their memoranda that their efforts to create a new society were being frustrated by the chiefs' persistent immorality (polygamy) and by the government's apparent indifference to that situation.

The missionary practice of persistently doubting and questioning the morality of the chiefs was evidently resented by the latter, but the practice was soon adopted

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1 The first memorandum, entitled "Church land and Other Questions" was sent to the Governor by the three Bishops: J.J. Willis (CMS), J. Biermans (MHM) and John Forbes (WF) 19 April 1918. SMP 5368/18. Entebbe Archives.
The second memorandum about "the state of Christianity in the country" (Uganda) was sent to the Governor by the MHM. It is not dated, but it seems to have been written between 1928-1936. It appears in File XI, History 1928-1936. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

by the church workers in the lower strata of the Church hierarchy. This development led increasingly to strained relationships between most of the chiefs and the church workers. As early as 1916, for example, Nabikamba, himself a chief, complained in an article in Ebifa mu Buganda about the increasing tendency of some of his fellow chiefs to refust to admit abasomesa into their ebisagati and the frequent public criticism of the abasomesa by some of the Saza chiefs. As this was detrimental to the image of the Church, Nabikamba, appealed to his colleagues to restore the previous friendly working relationship between the chiefs and the abasomesa[1].

The strained relationship between the abasomesa and most of the Christian chiefs, which Nabikamba had recognised, was the beginning of a slow process of disengagement, on the part of the Christian chiefs, from prominent church leadership. This process was, ironically, given more momentum by the increase in the number of church workers. The steadily growing body of Christians in the inter-war period necessarily called for a growing body of church workers to minister to them. For instance, the MHM

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1 Nabikamba Z. Ebifa mu Buganda. February 1916 no.109 p.51.

employed 1083 catechists in 1921 and the following year, the number of catechists employed was increased to 1334[1]. Also the CMS employed 441 catechists in Busoga (including abasizi) in 1928 and the following year the number of the catechists and abasizi employed there was increased to 697[2].

The rapid numerical increase in church workers may have made it possible or even necessary for some of the Christian chiefs, like Benefansi Bakaleke[3], to leave some of their evangelistic activities to the catechists. Secondly the rapid increase in the number of church workers made it difficult for the chiefs and the church workers to maintain - as they had done in the first decade when the number of the church workers was still small - very close contacts between the chiefs and the church workers. The latter were spreading out further in the field and they were then too many to be well known by chiefs at least at the Saza or Gombolola level. It appears that with the

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1 The figures here represent the total number of catechists employed in the Upper Nile Vicariate. The figures for the individual ecclesiastical districts are not available. The figures are derived from "Sacred Returns" 1921, 1922, in St. Joseph's Advocate, 1921 and 1922. Mill Hill Archives.

2 The figures are derived from The Diocesan Gazette Uganda, May 1928, 1929.

3 Supra, p. 234.

loss of intimacy and close personal contact, which previously had contributed enormously to the maintenance of a good working relationship, some of the chiefs tended to sit back and continued supporting the Church and the schools only half-heartedly in order to keep their jobs[1].

It is also important to note that as the Basoga realised the value of education, in the inter-war period, the school increasingly became a popular institution[2]. With the rising popularity of education, chiefs and abasomesa did not have to go round the villages rounding up children as some of their predecessors had done in the first decade[3] nor did the chiefs have to remind the parents continuously about their duty to take their children to the village school. Thus the growth of education had rendered one of the chiefs' functions redundant. As the school became an established institution in its own right, it acquired a character of its own which progressively distinguished it from the Church[4] which was now institutionalised and had a stable and steady congregation. The growing distinction

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1 The fear that they would lose their jobs if they did not support the Church was very real, although declining, to all the Basoga Christian chiefs. Supra, p.232.

2 Infra (Ch.V)

3 Supra, p. 224

4 Infra (Ch.V)

between the school and Church, made it difficult for the chiefs to exercise the old form of leadership[1], in an institution that was increasingly "splitting" into two. Identification with and support of one half generally seems to have led to loosening their hold on the second half.

However, it was mainly the political, social and economic changes in Busoga, during the inter-war period, that highlighted and possibly accelerated the otherwise slow process of disengagement. The colonial government was trying, as it did elsewhere in Uganda, to promote economic activities in Busoga in order to make the colonial administration there self-supporting and to meet the cost of the public services. Secondly, the colonial administration aimed at turning the Basoga chiefs into an efficient body of bureaucrats.

Cotton which had been successfully introduced in Buganda, as a cash crop, in 1903 was also introduced in Busoga towards the end of the first decade. The 1908 monthly district report indicated - despite the famine, Mutama - that there was growing interest in cotton cultivation and that the chiefs, on behalf of their subjects,

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1 See the example of Twasenga p. 223-224.

had applied for over 1500 bags of cotton seed[1]. The cotton industry which was the only important cash earning industry expanded rapidly[2], particularly in the inter-war period when the Basoga were beginning to acquire more sophisticated tastes.

The Basoga chiefs took a keen personal interest in the economic activities. Access to the new forms of wealth, which for the chiefs included cotton cultivation, use of free labour from their personal estates Bwesengeze, and tax rebates, enabled them to evolve a new "chiefly style of life". This was mainly characterised by the ability to consume imported items such as a European style of clothing, iron-roofed houses, even motor cars[3]. The chiefs' drive to acquire more wealth, in order to preserve their new style of life was clearly illustrated by their persistent demand throughout the inter-war period that they

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1 Busoga District Monthly Report. February 1908. SMP 270/08. Entebbe Archives.

2 As a rough indication of this tendency, in 1919 there were forty-two ginneries in Uganda (cotton was grown mainly in Buganda and the Eastern Province). In 1922 the number of ginneries had risen to eighty-three. Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Cotton Industry of Uganda 1929 Pamphlet. Entebbe, Government Printers, 1929. p.4 Institute of Commonwealth Library.

3 Fallers, "The Predicament of the Modern African Chief - An Instance from Uganda" American Anthropologist vol.57 1953. p.298.

should be granted mailo land[1] like their counterparts in Buganda. The economic struggle of the chiefs to acquire and maintain a rather sophisticated style of life may well have left them with less time than most of their predecessors to work for Church development, a work whose social and political significance was relatively declining.

Busoga had experienced a problem of labour shortage since the early 1910s when the labour market was ransacked by both the European planters and the colonial government which required labour for public works projects, particularly the Jinja-Kakindu railway line. However, both the MHM and the CMS were not hit then by the problem of labour shortage as they used the tenants on the church land as their standing labour force[2]. Also when a large workforce was needed, the chiefs would use men from their Bwesengeze to help, especially with the building of either a school, omusomesa's house or a Church[3].

By 1922 it was possible for a man in the Bwesengeze area to pay ten shillings (about 50 pence) in lieu of one

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1 Lubogo, op.cit. p.191.

2 The tenants on church lands were exempted from doing compulsory labour, Kasanvu and Luwalo. Memorandum, "Church Lands and Other Questions". 19 April 1918. SMP 5368/18. Entebbe Archives.

3 Interview with Nabugere S. on 20 October 1971 at Kaliro.

month's labour[1]. As there was considerable cotton cultivation going on most people were increasingly able to pay the ten shillings a year instead of working for the chief for a month. This development robbed the Basoga chiefs of one of their main contributions, labour, to the Church. As Kasanvu had been abolished in Busoga in 1923 and tenants on Church lands had been allowed to pay busulu, rent of ten shillings annually instead of working for the missions, the latter began to feel handicapped by the labour shortage[2]. It is true that some understanding had been arrived at by the government and the missions whereby the Basoga chiefs were allowed to supply a certain number of men to the missions every month under the Luwalo system (also a form of compulsory labour). But the increasing mobility of the Basoga made the implementation of that policy, as Kadhumbula Nadiope soon discovered, almost impossible[3]. With the stoppage of the supply of labour to the Church, another vital link between the Church and the chiefs was severed.

Throughout the inter-war period the chiefship was

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1 Fallers L. Bantu Bureacracy p.148.

2 Bishop Willis to the Chief Secretary. 16 February 1928. Found in File "Mission Lands" SMP 5368/18 Entebbe Archives.

3 Nadiope (Kadhumbula) to the District Commissioner, Busoga. 16 November 1933. File L/9/G, Labour General District Commissioner's Archives, Jinja.

increasingly becoming an uncomfortable position to occupy. First there was the missionary pressure, as already noted, as they attempted to get the chiefs to give more support to their own denominations. More important, however, was the pressure from the colonial government as the latter, through the district commissioner exercised more detailed control on the chiefs to increase their efficiency. Some of the political changes introduced included, according to Fallers, the 1919 Native Authority Ordinance which gave the chiefs administrative and judicial powers. This was followed by the abolition of tribute and tax rebates in 1926 and the introduction of a salary scheme for the important chiefs[1]. This development made the chiefs more dependent on the colonial government than ever before. Increased dependency and improved communications made closer government control possible. For example, in 1934 the District Commissioner, Robertson is alleged to have fined a Gombolola chief who went outside his Gombolola to attend a Sunday service in the neighbouring Gombolola[2].

This example may be an extreme one but it helps to give some idea of the amount of control there was and it

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1 Fallers op.cit. p.148, 150.

2 Young Basoga Association to the D.C. 22 December 1934. Miscellaneous - Native Associations. D.C.'s Archives, Jinja.

illustrates the effectiveness of the District Commissioner's channels of information with regard to the chiefs under him. Aware of the watchfulness of the colonial government, the Basoga chiefs tended, increasingly, to place emphasis on administration work in order to avoid getting into trouble with the government. As Eriya Mukwatandeku, who as a Gombolola chief at Nsize from 1920 to 1940, observed, increasing government pressure forced one to cut down on one's contribution to church development. He admitted that he did this since as a Gombolola chief he had a lot of responsibilities. For example, he had to act as a judge, an administrator of law, a tax collector and an overseer of public buildings and road building[1].

The growing concern with Busoga unity which was noted among the Basoga chiefs[2] and their widening political experience helped to convince them that developing one's area amounted to more than school and church buildings. Inspired by the "Young Baganda Association"[3] and encouraged by their growing Basoga consciousness, believing themselves

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1 Interview with Mukwatandeku E. on 23 March 1972 at Nakirulwe.

2 Supra, p. 238-241.

3 The Young Baganda Association was formed in 1919. Its aims included improving missionary education, promotion of justice, greater participation in the retail trade. Low D.A. The Mind of Buganda Heinemann 1971 p.52-53.

to be the natural political communicators, the Basoga chiefs formed the "Young Basoga Association" in 1922. The aim of the YBA was "okukuza egwanga" (to develop the "nation") and the officials of the YBA - who included Musa Kaduyu[1], President; Yekoniya Lubogo[2], Vice-President; Tomasi Geme, Secretary - invited all the Basoga to join the Association[3]. The YBA was predominantly a Protestant organisation and it was used to further the chiefs' interests, for example, by putting pressure on the government to give them mailo land. But, by and large, the YBA attempted to get rid of injustice, to improve working conditions in Jinja, to obtain a fair price for the cotton growers and to seek permission for the latter to participate in the buying and ginning of their cotton[4].

The idea of forming associations to register discontent

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1 Supra, p. 174, footnote 2.

2 See p. 347 for his biography.

3 Ebifa mu Buganda. August 1922 no.187 p.191-192 Tomasi Geme, who has not been mentioned before, was a Gombolola chief in Bugabula. He had been educated in Budo and had been a teacher in the Balangira High School before he joined the African Native Medical Corps in 1917. Watson T. Ph.D. Thesis 1968, p.211.

4 Interview with Lubogo Y. on 29 March 1972 at Bugembe. Also File Miscellaneous - Native Associations. D.C's Archives, Jinja.

with the colonial government and to express demands was a new phenomenon in Busoga's political history. When the chiefs introduced it in 1922, they may not have realised that the idea would soon be popular with several groups who would use it to further their interests. In a period of ten years 1927-1937, there were five active associations formed in Busoga[1]. As the idea of "okukuza egwanga" was common to these associations, as it was to the chief-dominated YBA, the formation of the associations represented

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[1]

Name of Association	Formed	Leaders
i) Muslim Committee	1927	Yusufu Balita, Saza chief of Bunya
ii) Abakopi Enzalwa ya Busoga (Peasants' Association)	1929	Sulemani Muwumba
iii) The Basoga Catholic Association	1933	Antoniyo Sabakaki
iv) Edembe ly'Omukopi Association (The Peasants' Freedom Association)	1934	Kezekiya Wakamwanyi and Masege
v) Bataka Party	1937	Azaliya, Wycliffe Nviri

The anti-establishment (chiefs) slant in these associations is reflected in the names of most of the associations in which the Mukopi (singular) or peasant, seem to receive some considerable emphasis. Information derived from File Miscellaneous - Native Associations. Ibid.

a lack of confidence in the chiefs' ability to represent the growing different interests in the community. In fact what was being challenged was the chiefs' assumption that they would continue acting as the sole political communicators. The Bataka Party, for example, argued that as government appointees, the chiefs "... shall be no longer working for the tribal good, except to make themselves implements of the government against their tribe"[1]. In other words it was not only the chiefs' claim to representation that was refuted but they were also being accused of being unpatriotic. Accusations of that nature had a shattering impact on the chiefs who had been genuinely struggling to "okukuza egwanga". Consequently they slowly retreated from the development scene (Church included) and, in so doing, allowed the YBA to disintegrate.

In 1940, the Protestant ascendancy in the Busoga administration remained virtually unshaken. For example out of 584 Busoga chiefs (including Miruka chiefs) 525 were Protestants, 22 were Catholics and the rest were Muslims[2]. But the formation of the Muslim Committee and

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1 Mutekanga (Nviri) to the District Commissioner, 18 April 1940. File R/21/A.D.C's Archives, Jinja.

2 J. Kyangwa to the Provincial Commissioner (PC), Eastern Province. 1 September 1939. File R/21/A. D.C's Archives, Jinja. Kyangwa could have exaggerated these figures to strengthen his case.

the Basoga Catholic Association, whose main aim was to break the Protestant political domination, remained a constant threat to the Protestant establishment. It has been argued that the Christian chiefs were increasingly playing a less dominant role in the leadership of the Church, but their influence and reputation did not wane over-night. Indeed many of the chiefs continued attending various church councils[1] and when Rev. Pasha introduced the independent Church, African Greek Orthodox Church (AGOC) in Busoga in 1936[2] he sought to use the influence of the chiefs to further the growth of AGOC in Busoga. Consequently, he named his School "Kyabazinga Benevolent School"[3].

Most of the Basoga chiefs - and indeed the Baganda regents and agents before them - had used their political influence to expand and sustain the Christian Church in Busoga. The Anglicans or Protestants, whose political influence was further reinforced by the return of the

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1 For example, E. Wako, the President, Y. Lubogo, Saza chief of Bulamogi and F. Kireri, Gombolola chief of Namalemba were listed as members of the Busoga Deanery Council in 1936.
Ekitabo ky/Ebitesebwa Olukiiko lwe Gwanga NAC (Native Anglican Church) Busoga. 30 March 1936. Iganga busumba Archives.

2 Infra, p. 307.

3 Interview with Rev. Pasha on 27 March 1972 at Nsize.

"educated" young Basoga chiefs from the CMS schools in Buganda, dominated both the political and religious fields in Busoga throughout the inter-war period. However, with the declining role of the chiefs in church leadership, the Basoga church leaders and Christians would increasingly assume some of the responsibilities which had been previously undertaken by the chiefs. Further the declining church-chief identification would make the religious factor increasingly less important in the subsequent political development of Busoga.

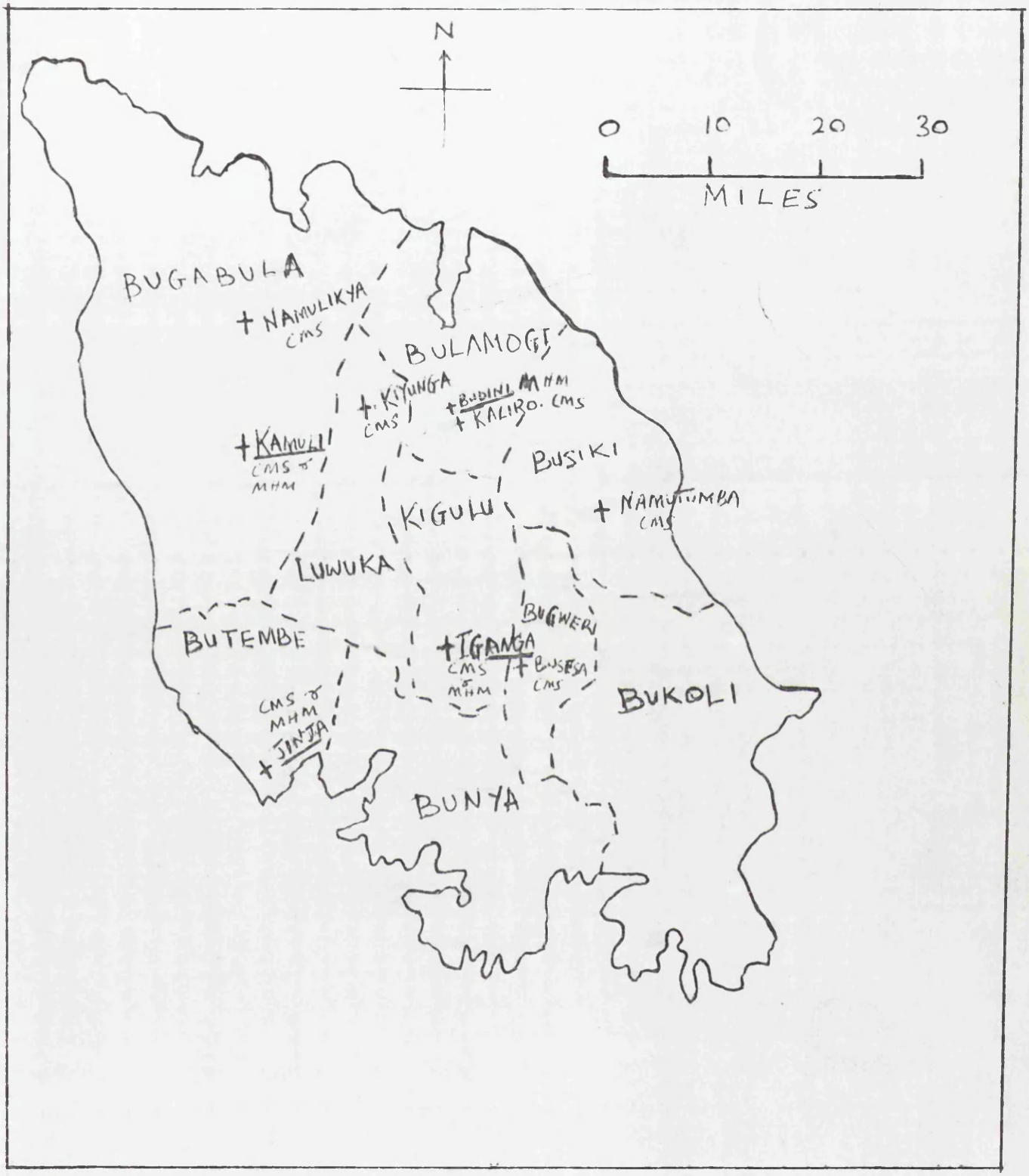
TABLE V

The Principal Chiefs in Busoga 1907

County	Name	Office	Place of Origin	Religion
	Semei Kakungulu	President of Busoga Lukiiko	Buganda	Protestant
Bugabula	Kasibante and Senadari	Regents	Buganda	Protestant (not known)
Luwuka	Ali Lwanga	Regent	Buganda	Muslim
Bulamogi	Serwano Twasenga	Regent	Buganda	Protestant
Kigulu	Nikolawo Tega	Regent	Buganda	Protestant
Kigulu	Sulemani Kakuma	Deputy County Chief (Sabadu Namutumba)	Buganda	Protestant
Bugweri	Nuwa Muzira	County Chief	Busoga	Protestant
Bukoli	Musitwa	County Chief	Busoga	Traditional Religionist
Bunya	Kisoma III	County Chief	Busoga	Traditional Religionist

Information derived from Lubogo Y.K. A History of Busoga p.1-115

MAP 3. BUSOGA, POLITICAL DIVISIONS [1969], MISSIONARY STATIONS AND BUSUMBA.



KEY

____ District boundary

---- Saza boundaries.

\+ Missionary Stations and Busumba.

By 1940 each Saza, exempting Bukoli, Bunya and Bugabula, formed one Busumba.

The FOUR MHM stations [underlined] were still ran by European Missionaries.

CHAPTER V: BASOGA PROFESSIONALS; INCREASED RESPONSIBILITIES 1918-1940

One of the outstanding features in the Busoga Church history during this period (1918 - 40) was that the Basoga Church workers increasingly assumed more responsibilities, particularly at the pastoral level, in their Church. This was possible mainly because the missions were increasingly concentrating their efforts on developing schools and hospitals, thus allowing their Basoga colleagues to assume more responsible roles in their Church. Secondly the gradual withdrawal of the chief's influence and support meant that the Basoga professionals and their congregations would, progressively, assume more responsibilities in order to sustain the growth and influence of the Church in Busoga.

The CMS policy of ordaining some of the Basoga to reinforce the already overworked clergymen there was maintained throughout the inter-war period[1]. By 1940, a total of eleven Basoga had been admitted to the ordination orders [2].

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1. The factors which had influenced the initiation of this policy in Busoga have been discussed before (Chapter III). Several of those facts, particularly shortage of ordained men, remained prevalent throughout the inter-war period.

2. See Table VI

However, by 1940 only ten Basoga clergymen remained in practice as Wabuleta had been dismissed on disciplinary grounds in the late 1930s. Also Gwawala had been suspended in 1934 only to be reinstated in 1939 after he had confessed and begged forgiveness from the bishop[1].

The pace at which ordination of the Basoga progressed seems to have been considerably slower than the situation demanded. For example, although there had been a phenomenal increase in the number of baptised Anglicans between 1921 to 1926 when their number rose from 8156 to 16456[2], the CMS which had not received any reinforcements either from London or Buganda, ordained only three Basoga in that period. Moreover after the number of the Anglicans had so increased and the total number of the pastoral clergymen there had been raised to seven, there were no further ordinations of Basoga for another seven years. There are three possible explanations for this seemingly half-hearted approach to the ordination of the Basoga.

Until the 1930s when a small number of clergymen could

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1 Interview with Aloni Gwawala, done by bishop C. Bamwoze 1964.

2 Hewitt, The Problems of Success - A History of the CMS 1910-1942. p.235.
See also table VII. The difference between Hewitt's figures and those shown in the table is due to the fact that Hewitt did not include catechumens but these are included in the figures shown in table VII.

be trained at Buwalasi, (Bugisu) the Anglicans had one Theological College at Mukono which had to serve the needs of the ordinands and lay-readers of the whole Anglican diocese[1]. Consequently, its intake of students from various parts of the diocese was severely restricted.

Secondly as entrance into Mukono and the subsequent graduation as a clergyman was based on sitting examinations, some of the Basoga candidates were unable to pass their examinations. Indeed in 1929 Erisa Kyeyago who had been under training at Mukono with Samwiri Mwanja (ordained deacon in 1931)[2] was dismissed on the grounds that he was too old to learn anything[3].

Thirdly, the CMS hierarchy still adhered to its policy of continuous tutelage in spite of the criticism from some of the local missionaries[4] and the CMS headquarters in London. The latter had, for example, suggested that the CMS should consider the possibility of complete withdrawal from Uganda, but the CMS hierarchy in Uganda rejected the

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1 Ibid, p.251.

2 For a brief biography on Mwanja see p.351.

3 Ekitabo kyo Lukiiko lwe Iganga 2 April 1926. Iganga busumba Archives.

4 Albert Lloyd, a CMS missionary in Toro, for example, accused the CMS of keeping "the native clergy in leading strings". Lloyd to My Lord Bishop and Fellow Missionaries. Review of the year 1917. CMS Archives G3, A7/O.

idea and added that the Uganda Church would, for quite some time, continue to depend "intellectually, financially and spiritually", on European help and leadership[1]. However, the retirement of Ladbury in 1933 and bishop Willis the following year seems to have had a mitigating effect on the policy of continuous tutelage as the ordination of the Basoga, as Table VI indicates, was then slightly stepped up.

The MHM who opened their own minor seminary at Nyenga (Buganda) in 1923 and a major seminary first at Iganga (Busoga), which was transferred to Nagalama (Buganda) and then to Gaba, ordained the first Musoga priest, Thomas Kasadha, at Gaba on 21st December 1940[2]. It has been indicated that the training of a Roman Catholic priest was vigorous and lengthy, lasted over twenty years and required the African candidate to the priesthood to satisfy the same conditions as their European counterparts[3]. The lengthy rigorous course and the celibate priesthood discouraged many Basoga from offering themselves for training. However, the MHM approach to the training of the priests had several advantages.

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1. Willis J (Bishop) Ladbury (CMS Secretary, Uganda) Kitching (Archdeacon, Busoga) to Mr.Manley, the CMS Secretary 10th January 1922. CMS Archives G3, A7/O.

2. Interview with Fr. Kasadha on 25th March 1972 at Kyebando.

3. Supra, p. 200.

Firstly the lengthy training, as Pirouet observed, ensured that unsuitable candidates were almost invariably eliminated before ordination[1]. In other words, it is possible that the MHM had better chances of ordaining the right kind of men than the CMS mission who offered a relatively less laborious and shorter training. Secondly as the training of the indigenous priests was the same as that offered to European priests in Europe, the indigenous MHM priests, unlike the CMS Basoga clergymen, were placed in a position where they had a strong claim to parity with regard to conditions of service, responsibilities and social status as their European colleagues. Lastly under the MHM system those who were eventually ordained priests were men who could stand, at least, intellectually, the challenges of a rapidly developing country.

Of the eleven Basoga Anglican clergymen in 1940, only two, Waibale and Nayenga, had received Budo education which was about six to eight years of education[2]. The rest

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1. Pirouet, "The First World War - An Opportunity missed by Missions". Paper read to the University Social Sciences Council Conference, Nairobi. December 1969. In Pirouet's possession.

2. Interview with Rev. Waibale on 11th March 1972 at Namutumba.

of the clergymen had started working as catchists of little or no academic training and had worked their way up, bringing with them some considerable experience, to the clerical rank. However, as academic training was increasingly becoming popular in the inter-war period[1], there was a danger that a church which was run by a team of poorly educated men could steadily grow less effective especially among the "educated" group.

After the First World War, the CMS increasingly placed its emphasis on the administration and development of schools[2]. As the CMS headquarters in London had a dwindling budget, they progressively found it difficult to send pastoral missionaries to Uganda. Moreover the few missionaries who arrived in Uganda then ended up doing specialist work, teaching in schools, Theological Colleges or doing medical work[3]. Since the retired or transferred European pastoral missionaries could not be replaced by other European missionaries, the number of the European pastoral missionaries in Basoga steadily declined. By the end of this period (1940) Busoga had only one European pastoral missionary, Rev. Cole who held the position of rural dean. Further the supply of Baganda clergymen had also been cut off as the latter were needed to

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1. See, for example, Appendix B
2. See, for example, p.288-299.
3. Hewitt, p.228

work in their own country and in the new missionary field of Kigezi.[1] This had the effect of gradually eliminating the three tier system which has been described before.[2]

The diminishing missionary influence at the pastoral level allowed the Basoga clergymen a lot more room for individual initiative and assumption of more responsibilities. For example, in 1929 two Basoga clergymen, Yoweri Bajube and Nasanaieri Wabuleta occupied the former European missionary stations of Iganga and Kamuli respectively[3]. As successors of the Europeans, Bajube and Wabuleta did not only have their prestige boosted, but also their power and responsibilities were increased, since their busumba (pastorates) consisted of about three to five counties.[4] However, as more Basoga were ordained in the 1930s, the existing busumba were subdivided in order to create new busumba for the new clergymen. In 1940, Busoga which had ten working Basoga clergymen, was divided into eight busumba.[5]

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1. Supra, p. 197.

2. Supra, p. 190.

3. CMS Report and Lists 1929 - 30, p. xxxiv

4. The basic structure of a missionary district or pastorate does not seem to have changed since 1913 when, for example, the missionary district of Iganga was described as consisting of five counties; it extended 20 miles north to south and about 50 miles east to west; the population in the district was about 113,000 people and there were 55 Church. The missionary at Iganga station was in charge of the whole district.
Uganda Notes. October 1913. Vol. 14. no. 10, p.229.

5. See map 3.

One of the long-term effects of this development may well have been to undermine the prestige and power of the clergymen, but its immediate advantage was to place the central churches within the easy reach of most of the Basoga Christians and Catechumens.

The busumba (has no plural form), as claimed above, would have a central Church, possibly built with bricks, the musumba's (plural basamba) or pastor's residence which was not built with bricks but had an iron roof and the church primary school offering four to six years of education. The musumba, like the important Basoga chiefs, riding his bicycle, frequently toured his b usumba baptising, visiting various congregations and the sick, encouraging and supervising the work of the catechists under his care.

In addition to his growing responsibilities, the musumba had to leave his busumba fairly frequently to attend various church council meetings held outside his busumba. He attended the Anglican Synod in Kampala at least once in two years, he was a member of the busumba or clergymen's council and he had to attend the half-yearly meeting of the ruridecanal council sitting either at Iganga or Jinja.

The ruridecanal council, which was the highest executive and legislative CMS body in Busoga, was chaired by the rural dean. The others who attended the council were some of the

important chiefs[1], two or three missionary school teachers and about twenty delegates - these were almost always catechists - from various busumba. It was in the ruridecanal council that the musumba was likely to be confronted with more intensive missionary tutelage. However, the Basoga representatives outnumbered the missionaries so heavily that it was hardly possible for the missionaries always to dominate the council's proceedings. In other words the falling number of missionaries in the council was giving the Basoga professionals a chance to play a greater part in making the decisions that would affect them, their work and their Christian communities.

Of course the council members often followed the advice of the Chairman of the council. But there is evidence which indicated that occasionally, the Basoga professionals displayed their confidence and maturity by acting independently and in defiance of both missionary advice and the weakening policy of continuous tutelage. For example, in 1936 the ruridecanal council acting in defiance of the Chairman's advice, resolved that Busoga should be divided into two rural deaneries and two of the Basoga clergymen should be appointed to the new posts of assistant rural dean[2].

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1. Supra, p. 257, footnote 1.

2. Ekitabo kyebitesebwa Olukiiko lwe Gwanga NAC Busoga. 1st April 1936. Iganga busumba Archives.

Although the implementation of this resolution was delayed by, possibly, administrative and financial difficulties, in 1941 Rev. S.Mwanja was appointed assistant rural dean in charge of Kamuli (north Busoga) area and Rev. E. Ibula was named assistant rural dean in charge of Iganga (south Busoga) area[1]. This was a significant development in the process of handing more power and responsibilities to the Basoga clergymen. However, Rev.Cole retained his position of rural dean, thus indicating that although the policy of continuous tutelage was weakening, it was not yet dead. It may now be asked how the process of handing more power and responsibilities to the Basoga clergymen affected both the catechists and the local congegration?

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1. Ibid. 19th March 1941.
Rev.Ibula's family had emigrated from Bukasero in Bunya county, and had settled at Namusisi, Buwerempe in Kigulu county where Ibula was born in 1889. Like many young men of his day, he decided to live with Zakayo Kayeyera, one of the first Basoga catechists, who prepared him for baptism. He was baptised in 1906. The following year, in the company of Rev. Mathers and Petero Lukungu - also newly baptised - Ibula went to Kaliro where he started to wor as an untrained catechist. In the following year he did short courses alternating with field work until 1922 when he was ordained a deacon. He worked in several places in Busoga until he was appointed assistant rural dean in 1941. When Canon Cole retired in 1949, Ibula was selected to replace him as the rural dean of southern Busoga. He died in May 1959.
Information obtained from (i) C.Numembi, Ibula's son, through C.Inyhensiko. August 1972.
(ii) Interview with Petero Lukungu done by bishop Bamwoze June 1966.

Apparently the CMS catechist had a fair amount of the new responsibilities passed down to him by his musumba. As the catechist lived amidst his local congregation and therefore had a fair chance of meeting many of them daily, the responsibility of teaching the Christians - who were becoming increasingly indispensable[1] - to support their Church tended to rest primarily on his shoulders. Also the catechist, as already indicated, found himself with a lot more responsibility in the various church councils, particularly the ruridecanal council, that he attended.

Although the catechist was taking a fair share of the new responsibilities, he does not seem to have shared in the power and prestige that the musumba was increasingly enjoying. His poor conditions of service remained unrevised throughout the inter-war period. His accommodation remained poor and as he could not afford a bicycle, he did his rounds on foot[2]. Consequently, the catechist was disillusioned as he felt that his work was not highly valued[3].

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1. This is discussed on p.281-284.

2. Interview with Nabugere S. on 20th October at Kaliro.

3. In Buganda where the catechists had a strike in 1905, one of their grievances was "we understand now that this (church work) is the work of the clergy; our work is despised".
Taylor,op.cit.,p.80.

In the busumba of Kaliro, for example, the disillusionment of the catechists was manifested in the high rate of turnover of the catechists there. In 1935 the total number of catechists employed in the Kaliro area was twenty. In 1936 nine of the twenty catechists had left only to be replaced by two new recruits. Two years later, the list of the catechists had only eight names on it[1]. The instability of the catechist staff may have jeopardized the CMS's work and for the catechists who remained on their jobs, it may have meant that they had to spread out more thinly to cater for all the Christians in the busumba.

In 1938, intent on pressing for their demands, the catechists in the ruridecanal council tabled a motion to the effect that all the Basoga catechists should be allowed, to form their own lukiiko (council) which would look after their interests[2]. Opposition to this idea, as Nkobera the first chairman of the catechists' lukiiko recalled, came chiefly from the clergymen who, possibly because they were aware of the discontent among the catechists, suspected the lukiiko would lead to a general catechists' uprising[3].

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1. Ekitabo kyo Lukiiko lwe Kaliro. Kaliro busumba Archives.
2. Ekitabo kyebitesebwa Olukiiko lwe Gwanga, NAC Busoga 9th March 1938. Iganga busumba Archives.
3. Interview with Nkobera on 7th March 1972 at Buluya.

Also the formation of the lukiiko may have been interpreted by the clergymen as an expression of lack of confidence in them since they were expected to help the catechists solve their problems. Moreover the new lukiiko would lie outside the influence of the clergymen and the latter may not have been ready yet for that kind of development. However, the ruridecanal council eventually voted in favour of allowing the catechists to form their own lukiiko. The only condition attached was that the Chairman of the lukiiko had to keep the rural dean informed of the activities of the new lukiiko.[1]

The catechists' lukiiko whose membership was restricted to the catechists only, first met at Nasuti in 1938. Kezekiya Nkobera was elected the first chairman (he was re-elected for the following three years) and it was agreed that the lukiiko should meet once every year. Nkobera recalled that the lukiiko kept a record of its proceedings, but that these records could not be traced[2]. However, some of the catechists who had been members of the lukiiko recalled that their main role had been to act as a pressure group, drawing the attention of the basumba and the ruridecanal council to the various aspects of the catechists' work which called for improvement. For example, the catechists' conditions of service or the strengthening of Christian discipline among the Christians in

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1. Ekitabo kyebitesebwa Olukiiko lwe Gwanga, NAC Busoga, 9th March 1938. Iganga busumba Archives.

2. Interview with Nkobera on 7th March 1972 at Buluya.

their areas[1]. Further the lukiiko provided a useful forum for the exchange and discussion of new ideas and experiences. This may well have helped some of the catechists to improve their approach to church work.

The MHM, like the CMS, had an expanding Christian population[2], and a growing commitment towards that young community of "believers". The MHM rightly realised that some limited changes had to be introduced, in their otherwise highly centralised and rigid system of church organisation[3], in order to enable the pastoral missionaries and the catechists to cope more effectively with their growing work.

The first people to be affected by the new change were the pastoral missionaries themselves. In 1918 it was agreed that the superiors (heads of missionary stations) in each ecclesiastical district should hold half-yearly meetings for the discussion of questions affecting the district. It was further stipulated that the resolutions passed in the district meetings would not become operative until the Bishop had approved them. Also it was arranged that each district would send "two deputies" or representatives each year to meet at Nsambya and discuss with the Bishop the matters affecting the

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1. Interview with Sala and Erieza Byansi on 21st October 1971.
   Also Interview with Nabugere on 20th October 1971 at Kaliro.
2. See for example, Table VII.
3. Some indication of the MHM's Church Organisatinn has been given in the discussion relating to Kamuli missionary district, p.179-180.

Church work in the Vicariate.[1]

One of the main advantages of this new arrangement was that it enabled the pastoral missionaries who worked out in the missionary field to participate - albeit indirectly - in the process of making decisions that affected their work. Also the meeting provided the priests with the opportunity to discuss and exchange ideas. Further the meetings may have helped to improve the flow of information, this was important especially as the missionary activities were growing and expanding, between the districts and the ecclesiastical headquarters at Nsambya.

The second group of people to be affected by the changes were the catechists. First in 1921 the catechists, like the pastoral missionaries, were told to form a catechists meeting or lukiiko to which three delegates and the head-catechists of each mission would be sent as representatives. The aim of the catechists lukiiko was, "to further Union and healthy ambition among our catechists ..... and to promote the idea of self-support"[2]. But as argued before, the meetings

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1. Fourth Provincial Chapter meeting at Nsambya 16th - 19th July 1918. File D/7/1. Bishop's House Archives, Jinja.

2. Third Annual Meeting of the Delegates of the various districts held at Nsambya. 22nd - 24th November 1921. File C/5/9. Bishop's House Archives, Jinja.

were also likely to help improve the flow of information between the various strata of the Church hierarchy. What is more, the formation of the catechists' lukiiko would probably create a feeling of participation, on the part of catechists, in decision making and a realization that their work was appreciated and recognised as important.

It should be noted that the MHM catechists' lukiiko was formed well before the CMS catechists' lukiiko and that the two were rather different. The main difference being that whereas the CMS catechists' lukiiko was initiated and organised by the catechists themselves, the former was both inspired and organised from above; even the agenda for the meetings was made by the priests on behalf of the catechists[1]. The MHM catechists - unlike those of the CMS - could, therefore, hardly use their lukiiko as a pressure group to further their own interests.

Between 1922 and 1927, the MHM catechists lukiiko met five times. During each of those meetings, a kind of catechist's code of behaviour was read out to the delegates. When that was done, they were reminded of their duties[2], although that was also perhaps done every month when the catechists were

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1. Third Annual Meetings of the Delegates of various districts held at Nsambya. 22nd - 24th November 1921. File C/5/9. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2. See Appendix A for the catechists' code of behaviour and their duties.

required to report to the mission station[1]. It seems that the catechists were allowed to discuss the "safe" subjects for example, wearing a badge that would help to distinguish them as catechists[2], or that they should be publicly prayed for[3]. But the thorny issues, like more pay, do not seem to have been discussed. This had a frustrating effect on some of the MHM catechists. About a half of the catechists in the Kamuli district for example, registered their protest by refusing to attend the monthly meeting at the missionary station in February 1924[4]. In August, Fr. Wright of Kamuli again reported,

> The number of young catechists who have given up their work this year is also deplorable. This can in many cases be traced to the fact that they can make a good deal of money by planting cotton....5

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1. Supra p. 166; 180-181.

2. First Lukiiko of catechists, held at Jinja 21st August 1922. File IX History 1920 - 1923. Bishop's House Archives, Jinja.

3. Fifth Lukiiko of catechists, held at Jinja 2nd August 1927. File IX History 1920 - 1923. Bishop's House Archives Jinja.

4. Fr.Wright's half-yearly report. February 1924. Kamuli missionary district. File V, Written Reports 1919 - 1940 Bishop's House Archives, Jinja.
See also p. 181-182 for the conditions under which the catechists worked.

5. Fr.Wright's half-yearly report. August 1924. File V, Written Reports 1919 - 1940. Bishop's House Archives, Jinja.

In other words some of the catechists had realised that a simple protest was ineffectual. Consequently, they took a more drastic step of giving up their jobs in order to find more lucrative employment elsewhere.

The catechists were further frustrated by the fact that, for the seven years during which the catechists Lukiiko had been working, none of its recommendations or resolutions had ever been taken seriously by the Church hierarchy. Fr.Rungg of Kamuli, who was anxious that something had to be done to prevent the situation from further deterioration, wrote to the bishop reminding him that the catechists had made several practical proposals and "no notice had been taken of their efforts". He further suggested:

> If it were possible to put before them an answer from your Lordship and any suggestions, I am sure it would be a great encouragement for them and their work. 1

The second innovation that was introduced in 1921 was that some of the "capable catechists", these would probably be mainly the head catechists, were given more responsibility[2].

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1. Fr.Rungg to "My Lord" 4th August 1928. File D/7/1/ Bishop's House Archives. Jinja. The reply to Fr.Rungg's letter could not be traced.

2. Fr.Wright's half-yearly report, March 1921. File V Written Reports 1919 - 1940. Bishop's House Archives Jinja.

The preparation for baptism had been divided into three stages. The first stage called Saala (prayers) was taught by the catechist in the village catechuminate. That was followed by a residential course conducted by the missionaries at the missionary station which lasted about six months. This couse was divided in the morning and afternoon Catechism or Omugigi Ogwenkyo (Omuto) and Omugigi Ogweigulo, respectively.[1] However, in 1921, the "capable catechists" were allowed to take Omugigi omuto of the morning Catechism[2]. By the 1930s the "capable catechists"

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1. Interview with Walabyeki on 26th December 1971 at Budini. The White Fathers in Buganda used a similar system which Rooyackers has described as follows:

   > At the age of ten they (catechumens) had to attend a three months intensive residential course, called Mugigi, at the mission stations. Later these three months became six. In this Mugigi religion was the main subject on the program but the children also learned to read. At the end they passed an examination in both reading and religion. The Catechists did not teach in the Mugigi. This was in the hands of the White Sisters and especially of the Bannabikira (Daughters of Mary).

   "The Role of the Catechists in the Elementary Education from 1879 - 1930". A case study of Buganda. Paper read at the Universities Social Science Council Conference 1971. p. 2.

2. Fr.Wright's half-yearly report, March 1921 loc.cit.

were teaching the entire baptism course at their "centres"[1]. However, the catechumens had to be tested at the missionary station and were given some brief instructions there for a week or two before they were baptised.

This new arrangement would help to relieve the missionary stations of some of the mounting pressure of work. Secondly the residential course at the missionary station caused considerable suffering on the part of the catechumens. At the Budini missionary station, for example, accommodation, as Mutaka recalled, was only available for the girls. The boys had to find their own accommodation. A few of the boys would stay with relatives or friends. But the majority had to ask strangers to house them for the three to six months the baptism course lasted. As tenants, the catechumens worked in their landlords' gardens every morning in return for accommodation and food. Often they were grossly exploited and overworked. What is more, the small boys who were thought weak and, therefore, not very useful

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1. Interview with Yeremiya Mutaka, who was himself a "Centre catechist" in the 1930s, on 20th November 1971 at Nawandala. The term "centre" was used to make a distinction between the ordinary catechuminate where only Saala was taught and the catechuminates where the entire baptism course was ran.

in the gardens, found it almost impossible to find anywhere to live. Consequently, many of the catechumens would drop out of their courses[1] and others who would have become Roman Catholics, as Fr.Droutmann speculated, decided to become Anglicans since the latter had all their catechumens trained in their own villages by the catechists.[2] By creating "centres", the MHM would save their catechumens from exploitation and hardship, become more attractive and, therefore, compete favourably with the CMS.

While touring his busumba,[3] the Musumba who was aware of the declining role of the chiefs in church leadership[4], impressed on the local Christians the need to support the Church by putting some of their money (collections) or goods and labour at the Church's disposal. In other words as the musumba could no longer take the chiefs' once lavish donations and enthusiastic participation in the Church affairs for granted, he had to rely progressively on the local Christians to provide the required labour and the financial support to pay for the church workers.

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1. Interview with Mutaka on 20th November 1971 at Nawandala.
2. Fr.Droutmann's half-yearly report. 15th August 1914. Iganga Mission. File IV Reports, Bishop's House Archives Jinja.
3. Supra p.268.
4. Supra p.241-257.

This was an interesting development. For the first time, the Christians themselves were beginning to play a prominent part in the maintenance and development of their Church. This change is best demonstrated in the busumba minute books. For example, in July 1911 the Iganga busumba lukiiko decided, "Okuwandikira N.Tega (the Muganda regent in Kigulu) ebaluwa okumubuza ebye nyumba eyo musomesawe"[1] (to write to N.Tega to find out whether he had built a house for the Omusomesa in his area). But in the 1930s the same lukiiko was no longer addressing its letters to the important chief in the area, but to the "Omukulu wa Bakristayo" (Leader of the Christians) of a particular congregation[2].

During this period, the MHM introduced and encouraged comparable developments among its local congregations.

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1. Ekitabo ky'olukiiko lwe Iganga. 17th April 1911. Iganga busumba Archives.

2. On this occasion it was the leader of the Christians at Nawandala who the busumba lukiiko was asking to urge the Christians there to increase their financial support to the Church at Nawandala in order that the church workers there may be paid. 13th June 1935. Iganga busumba Archives.

The MHM aimed at persuading their Christians to form bibina or confraternities of married men and women, boys and girls. The European priests, faithfull to their policy of continuous tutelage, were to be in charge of the bibina. The members of the bibina would be called in once a month for general confession and communion.[1]

It seems that the bibina were introduced to promote Christian discipline and morality. But it is also possible that the formation of the bibina was the MHM's answer to the problem, which the CMS had already experienced, of religious schism.[2] It was perhaps felt that the Christians who were well disciplined and closely associated with each other would tend to discourage schimatic tendencies.

Further the Roman Catholic communities, like the Anglicans, had begun - since the support from the chiefs and the benefactors overseas was declining - to contribute either labour or money especially under the endobolo (tithe) system to support their Church[3]. So that the MHM had also to

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1. Third Annual meeting of the Delegates of various districts held at Nsambya 22nd November 1921. File C/5/9 Bishop's House Archives, Jinja.

2. Infra, p. 306-307; 311.

3. Interview with Yeremiya Mutaka on 20th November 1971 At Nawandala. Under the endobolo system each adult Roman Catholic was expected to give to the Church (about five shillings) annually. This was normally done in December to April, after the cotton sales had been made.

depend increasingly on its local Christians for support and the responsibility of teaching the latter to do this rested mainly on the catechists.[1]

The Basoga professionals and the development of Education

There was a general demand for higher education in Uganda - particularly in Buganda - during the inter-war period. The war experience had created some new tastes and aroused new aspirations among many who had joined the war effort either in the Carrier Corps or Medical Corps. The "new world", to which they had been exposed, was characterised by technical progress. This experience which enabled the African participants in the war to realise how backward technologically, their country was, may well have encouraged them to aspire to making similar progress in their country through higher education. Moreover it was clear to many of the Africans who wished to press for changes that knowledge of English and development of one's intellectual ability, both of which would be useful assets in establishing effective political communication with the colonial masters, could only be realised through higher education.[2]

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1. See Appendix A. 10.

2. In 1919, the Young Baganda Association wrote to a visiting British clergyman Rev. C.F.Andrews, a well-known social activist who had devoted his life to fighting for the rights of the oppressed peoples. In their letter, the Young Baganda Association seem, by and large, to have captured the general feeling of the period when they said, "Sir Uganda is a country which is growing amongst the civilized people and races and is in very bad need of higher education to enable her people to meet the modern affairs". 22nd December 1919.
Low D.A. The Mind of Buganda , p. 52

The missionaries who were responsible for establishing and running the elementary education system primarily for evangelistic purposes, were sympathetic with the demand for higher education since that development would only serve to further their objective of training people to "serve God in Church and State"[1]. However, since the mission bodies had growing financial difficulties, they could not provide the type of education that was being demanded. The colonial government which was not enthusiastic, at least initially, about the idea of higher education was foreed to respond to the growing number of parents who wanted to send their children to schools overseas.

In 1924 Mr. Eden, the Provincial Commissioner of Eastern Province informed the Chief Secretary that Daudi Mutekanga (the regent in Bugabula county) had persistently made requests to send his two sons (Yona Mwiru and Azariya Nviri) to England or elsewhere. He further observed that although The Governor had met Mutekanga and persuaded him not to send his children to England, "the old man is constantly insisting upon it and I now submit his request to his Excellency"[2]. Two months before Eden's letter, a similar

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1. Supra, p.218.

2. Eden to the Chief Secretary. 13th March 1924. Education of Natives outside Uganda. SMP 6215/20. Vol. 1. Entebbe Archives.

letter had been written to the Chief Secretary by Apolo Kagwa, who already had a son at Trinity College, Kandy in Ceylon, asking for permission to send his grandson, W. Kadhumbula Nadiope (hereditary Chief of Bugabula) to school in England.[1]

In the West African experience, it was the demands of Sierra Leonean emigrants in Lagos who dictated, in spite of the missionaries, the type of education that they wanted.[2] Also in Uganda, it was the indigeneous peoples' persistent demand for higher education coupled with the government"s growing uneasiness, with regard to the students being sent overseas where, it was feared, they were "likely to become imbued with the spirit of disaffection or disloyalty"[3], that the government decided to play a more active role in the development of higher education in Uganda. Indeed the Provincial Commissioners' conference debating the question of higher education disliked the idea of sending students

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1. Apolo Kagwa to the Chief Secretary 2nd January 1924. Ibid.

2. Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841 - 1891 Longmans 1965. p. 152.

3. Acting Governor of Uganda to the Governor General of the Sudan. 20th May 1920. SMP 6215/20. Vol.1. Entebbe Archives.

overseas. So they concluded, "it therefore, becomes pressingly necessary to establish facilities for higher education within the Protectorate"[1].

On the strength of that recommendation, the Governor informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies about the urgent need there was to draw up plans for a comprehensive education system in Uganda. He also indicated that he had already taken the initial steps by applying for the services of Mr.E.R.Hussey of the Sudan Education Department,[2] who was to become the first director of education in Uganda in 1925.

The well known Phelps-Stokes Commission visited Uganda in 1924. The Commission which was critical of the low educational standards especially in the village schools, and the literary nature of the curricula, had a word of praise for Buckley High School (the girl's school at Iganga) which it described as "a first-rate girls' boarding school)"[3]. The Commission recommended the setting up of an inspectorate which would embrace and raise up all the village schools.

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1. Provincial Commissioners' Conference 1922.
Native Affairs: Educational Policy. SMP 6538/20.
Entebbe Archives.

2. Governor of Uganda to the Secretary of State for Colonies 14th August 1923.
Education of Natives outside Uganda. SMP 6215/20 Vol.1.
Entebbe Archives.

3. Quoted in Watson's Ph.D. thesis 1968. p. 308

Also district boards on which the mission societies and local administrators were represented, were established to help with the educational administration which included the selection of schools to be aided and the allocation of grants.[1] How did this development affect the Church and its leadership in Busoga?

Under the new arrangement whereby the government would increasingly give more money to the missionary societies to promote education,[2] the latter surrendered their independence in return for the new status of partnership with the government. The change from one position to the other was not strongly resisted. Admittedly many of the missionaries were apprehensive about the government's position as paymaster. But, by and large, the missionaries' resistance was mainly directed against the governments' intention to build its own schools[3] than the government's

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1. Carter F. Ph.D thesis 1967. p. 154-155

2. See Table VIII.

3. The Anglican Synod and the Buganda lukiiko, perhaps with missionary encouragement, joined the missionaries in opposing the building of government schools in areas which were poorly served by missionaries.
Furley O.W. "Education and the Chiefs in East Africa in the Inter-War period". Transafrican Journal of History Vol. 1. January 1971. p. 69.

claim to supervisory and administrative responsibilities in the schools.

This was because the missionary societies, which had very limited funds, had realised that they had increasingly to depend on the support and co-operation of the government in order to be able to maintain their growing and expanding education system. They did not, however, expect the government to invade independently the field of education which had progressively become the missionaries' main recruiting ground for "converts".

Financial aid was ironically given to schools which were already considerably well established. Therefore, the schools that qualified for financial aid were those at the mission stations and the high schools. The village schools which Taylor accurately described as "little nothings in the care of 'blind leaders of the blind'"[1] and clearly needed urgent assistance were, on the whole, left unaided. Consequently, many of them either remained unimproved or began to decline as they lost some of their pupils to the aided schools. The decline of some of the unaided or sub-grade schools could well have undermined the reputation and social position of the basizi and abasomesa who were in charge of those schools.

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1. Taylor J.V. op.cit. p. 95.

Secondly the aid scheme tended to promote denominational rivalry. It was common knowledge that the more good schools a mission society had, the more would that mission attract pupils to its schools and the bigger would be its government grant. Consequently, the mission societies concentrated on improving the standards of their schools in order to attract more pupils, potential converts, and to qualify for fat government grants. The CMS for example, placed many of the new missionaries, as claimed before, into educational jobs.[1] Moreover some of the old pastoral missionaries, like Rev. Mathers who had been a pastoral missionary in Busoga, were also drafted into some specialist jobs. Mathers became the Education Secretary of the CMS Schools in the Eastern Province in the 1930s[2]. The MHM had its pastoral missionaries similarly so preoccupied with running and organizing schools that their competence in pastoral work - as Fr. Grimshaw pointed out - began to show signs of decline.[3]

In spite of their expanding pastoral work, the basumba and most of the catechists also increasingly played an important part in organizing and improving the schools in

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1. Supra, p. 266.
2. Unclassified file in the D.C.'s Archives, Jinja.
3. Fr. Grimshaw E. loc. cit. p. 87.

their areas. As Canon Waibale recalled, the Basoga church workers especially the basumba, were deeply involved in the organisation and administration of schools. The musumba acted as Chairman of the Schools' Committee in his pastorate, it was his responsibility to ensure that the members of staff were well behaved and he had the power to suspend a teacher on grounds of bad conduct. Further he paid regular visits to the schools to inspect their work. Waibale claimed that all this was done because the schools were seen as an extension of the Church and the pupils, as "tomorrow's Church" and that, therefore, the emphasis they placed on the schools was neither wasted nor misplaced.[1] This view, which was common to all the church workers during this period, seems either to ignore or to underestimate the pace at which the schools and the Church were slowly drifting apart particularly as the schoolmasters began to emerge as a group distinct from the church workers.

Initially the grant aided schools were staffed by the European missionaries who were assisted by the better educated of the Basoga schoolmasters who were trained at either Mengo or Budo. But as the government wanted to raise the educational standards, the teachers were asked to obtain higher and state recognised qualifications. The missionaries

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1. Interview with Canon Waibale on 11th March 1972 at Namutumba.

were warned that unless they attended the London day Training College or were otherwise satisfactorily qualified, the government would not pay their salaries.[1] For the indigenous schoolmasters, a new system of qualifications was devised. People who had about six years of education could take a three years course and become grade "A" teachers or a one year course to become grade "B" teachers. Grade "C" was awarded to those who had had four or five years of education followed by two years' training at a teachers' training school.[2]

Budo and Makerere, where the government had opened an interdenominational technical college in 1921, were to train schoolmasters who ranked about the grade "A" schoolmasters and were expected to teach in the high schools.

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1. P4, 1934/4, CMS Archives. Quoted by Hewitt, p.248.

2. Rooyackers M. loc.cit. p. 11.
Also (i) Interview with Y.Kazibira, a former tutor in a CMS teachers' training school at Iganga, on 5th October 1971 at Kasolo.
(ii) Interview with Y.Naku, also a former tutor in the MHM Teachers' training school at Iganga, on 28th September 1971 at Bukoya.

Some of the Basoga who first trained either at Budo or both Budo and Makerere included Waibale, A.Magezi who was Makerere trained and taught in the Balangira high school[1], and W.B. Mwangu another Makerere graduate who taught in the MHM high school at Budini.[2]

As MHM and the CMS were intent on getting qualified schoolmasters rapidly to teach at every level in their schools, they started transforming former schools for the catechists into teachers' training schools or normal schools, as they were called. In 1928, the MHM catechists school at Nazigo was transformed into a normal school offering a three years' course leading to the grade "A" certificate. Further the school was transferred from Nazigo, which was considered unhealthy and inaccessible, to the MHM headquarters at Nsambya[3]. The improvement in the training of the

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1. Watson, Ph.D. thesis 1968 p. 228, in interview with A.Magezi. February 1965.

2. Brief information on Mwangu found in file R/21/A D.C.'s Archives, Jinja.

3. Fr.Jansen writing to Fr. Omtzigt. 4th November 1970. File N/17/7. Bishop's house Archives. Jinja.
Also Interview with Y.Naku - he had been a student at Nazigo when, in 1928, the school was moved to Nsambya - on 20th September 1971 at Bukoyo.
By comparison, the White Fathers who had a catechists school at Bikira (Buganda) also transformed it in 1928, into a normal school to train grade "A" teachers. Rooyackers M. loc. cit. p.11.

catechists for which bishop Biermans had fought incessantly[1] was not completely abandoned, for it was hoped that some of the schoolmasters would also work as catechists. However, with the growing competition in the field of education, the MHM tended to confine all its qualified schoolmasters to educational work.

The need for more teachers, especially women teachers, was partly met, as already claimed[2], by asking the WF to second some of their Baganda nuns to Busoga. Secondly in the 1930s some of the Baganda Little Sisters who had qualified as teachers were posted to Busoga.[3] Throughout this period (1918 - 1940) there were no Basoga girls who had qualified as Sisters. A few had gone to Nkokonjeru to be trained as Sisters but they had dropped out of the school either under pressure from their relatives who wanted to see them get married, or because they felt defeated by the academic

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1. Supra, p.167.

2. Supra, p. 170.

3. "History of the Congregation, 'The Little Sisters of St.Francis'". Paper written by Fr.J.Willigers. June 1965. File L/14/3/ Bishop's House Archives, Jinja.

demands which the training involved.[1]

Secondly a community of teaching lay brothers was founded under Fr.Kerkhoff at Namagunga in 1930 and in the same year, a normal school for grade "C" teachers was opened at the MHM station at Iganga[2]. The normal school was later (1937) moved to Namagunga. But for the seven years it had been open in Busoga over forty Basoga had, according to Naku who was the only African on the staff for six years, graduated from it as grade "C" teachers. Some of the graduates, for example Mulisi, worked in the Church as catechists but the majority were absorbed in the school system[3].

The CMS showed parallel, though slightly different, developments. In 1929 a schoolmaster's class for grade "A" teachers was opened at Mukono as part of the Theological College there[4]. This was a reasonable arrangement since theological candidates, who would continue using the college,

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1. Conversation with Mrs.Naku (who had dropped out of Nkokonjeru in the 1930s) on 28th September 1971 at Bukoyo.

2. Fr.Grimshaw loc.cit. p. 69
Also Interview with Mulisi N. on 6th October 1971 at Igenge.

3. Interview with Naku Y. on 28th September 1971 at Bukoyo.

4. Hewitt G. op. cit. p. 251.

would perhaps benefit from the daily contacts with the better academically trained students in the teachers' class. Also it may have been hoped, that as the latter were to be trained in the atmosphere of a Theological College, their commitment to Christianity would be subsequently deepened. However, the teachers' class, which had been expanding and developing a character of its own, was separated from the Theological College in 1938. The teachers' training college remained on the same site, but it was independent of the Theological College.[1] This development was one of the obvious indications in this period of the rift between the Church and the Schools.

Although Mukono continued training both the ordinands and the catechists, the enthusiasm for training the catechists at the local level seemed to be waning. Following the transfer of the Balangira high school from Kamuli in 1932 to its present site at Mwiri, the teachers' school which had been operating at Kamuli[2] was also closed. However, a normal school was opened at Iganga to train grade "C" schoolmasters. Timusewo Kibebere - a Muganda - and Yerusaniya Kazibira, who had been one of the first Basoga to graduate at Mukono in 1933 with a grade "A" certificate, were the only members of

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1. Hewitt G. Ibid p. 251

2. Supra, p. 175.

staff of the new normal school. In 1940, Kazibira was given further promotion when he was appointed assistant supervisor of schools in Busoga.[1] It is worth noting here that in the educational field, as in the Church, the CMS were quicker in giving important responsibilities to their Basoga colleagues than the MHM whose tireless priests tended to organise and run all the important schools.[2]

The women teachers' class which had been opened at Iganga in 1912 had had considerable set-backs caused by the discontinuity of the teaching staff. However, when Florence Allshorn a young missionary arrived at Iganga in 1920, the teachers' class of about twenty to thirty girls, and indeed Buckley high school benefited from her youthful energy and unbroken four years' service at Iganga.[3]

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1. Interview with Y.Kazibira on 5th October 1971 at Kasolo.

2. See below, p. 290

3. Oldham J.H. Florence Allshorn and the Story of St.Julian's SCM Press Ltd. 1951. p. 27: 31-35.
Allshorn was initially unhappy at Iganga. Her CMS lady colleague was unpredictable and difficult to live with, also the weather was oppressive. She also complained about the Basogas' failure to "realise that I've given my young life up to them..." However, her contribution to the school was appreciated and today a girls' dormitory named after her stands at the school where she taught fifty years ago.

One of the main problems with training women teachers was that a majority of them got married either just before or immediately after they had graduated. However a small number of the girls persisted and began working as school teachers. Miss Nawume and Mrs.Guina, for example, are reputed to have been outstanding teachers in Buckley high school during the 1920s. With the improving transport facilities[1], some of the Basoga girls began in the 1920s to go to Gayaza where they trained as grade "A" teachers. Mrs.Mwavu, who was trained as a grade "A" teacher at Gayaza in 1929, recalled that four Basoga girls had been to Gayaza before her[2]. This indicates that the situation was beginning to change as more Basoga girls were growing interested in teaching as a career. The prestige that school teachers were beginning to enjoy, the excitement of earning a regular salary and the realization that becoming a teacher increased rather than diminished one's chances of getting married, may have been the factors which were increasingly influencing some

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1. Before the First World War, the Basoga were reluctant to send their daughters to Gayaza because hardly any public form of transport existed.
Supra, p. 176.

2. The four girls were, Leya Bituli, Tabisa Wateta, Tolofayina Kampi and Mrs.Kirabira.
Interview with Mrs.Mwavu on 17th September 1971 at Iwawu.

of the Basoga girls to accept teaching as a career.

The measures which the missionary bodies and the government were taking to improve tthe quality of the schoolmasters and thereby raise the educational standards had several far-reaching consequences. First, while the quality of the teachers and the schools were generally being improved, there were no comparable improvements in the Church and the church workers. This, as indicated before, would affect the Church's effectiveness especially among the "educated" group . Also the schoolmasters began to feel - at least academically - superior to the church workers.

Secondly as the schoolmasters in government-aided schools were paid by the government, they received higher salaries than the church workers, who depended for their financial support solely on the contributions from the Christians. For example, while the average monthly pay for a catechist was eight shillings, the grade "A" teachers earned between twenty five to sixty five shillings every month.[1] The Makerere trained schoolmaster would earn forty to ninety shillings a month while an ordained clergy received about

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1. Annual Report, Department of Education (Uganda) 1930 p. 13. See also Anonymous report 1927, File, Mill Hill Mission. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

fifty to sixty shillings a month[1]. The wealth differential further sharpened the distinction between the schoolmasters and the church workers.

The more the schoolmasters became self-conscious as a group, the more they alienated themselves from the church workers and their work. In 1940, for example, an anxious writer - possibly a priest - remarked,

> Now that they are well paid, secular teachers operating in the various villages where formerly only the familar catechumenate was the centre of Christianity; often the catechist doesn't work amicably with the teacher and vice versa[2].

Also frequent reminders to the schoolmasters that they should assist the church workers were not unknown in this period[3]. The steady withdrawal of the schoolmasters from church work necessarily meant that the church workers had to increase their load of responsibilities. It also meant that the schools were likely to grow increasingly less effective as instruments of evangelization.

Thirdly during the inter-war period, there was a great increase in job-opportunities as the administration and the public services were being expanded. For example, in 1937 the police force advertised in the local press several

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1. Annual Reports (education) 1930 p. 13.
   Also Interview with Nkobera on 7th March 1972 at Buluya.

2. "The 1940s", author not named, report kept in File XIV History. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

3. For example see Ekitabo ky'Olukiiko lwo Muluka NAC Iganga 2nd July 1938. Iganga busumba Archives.

vacancies for constables, corporals and sergeants. The monthly pay ranged between twenty two shillings and ninety eight shillings.[1] The secular jobs, on the whole, offered such attractive conditions of service that most people preferred working for the secular agencies to working for the Church. Hence the Church (CMS) had to depend for its clergymen mainly on promoting catechists, who had had very little academic training, to the clerical ranks.[2]

Although the growing popularity of schools in the inter-war period contributed to the numerical growth of Christianity in Busoga, this did not necessarily reflect the popularity of either the Church or Christianity. The popularity of the schools and the teachers was based on the understanding that academic training would lead to some tangible benefits.[3] Therefore, the Church, whose benefits were growing more elusive and obscure, may well have begun losing importance to some of the Basoga.

However, by 1940 an indigenous Church in which the Basoga Christians and leaders were increasingly playing a more active role had began to emerge. Admittedly the CMS still retained several European missionaries at the top of the Church hierarchy. But over the previous two decades

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1. Ebifa mu Uganda. February 1937. no. 361. p. 37
2. Supra, p.266.
3. See Appendix B.

the CMS Basoga professionals had assumed so many responsibilities, particularly at the pastoral level, that the CMS goal of creating a "self-governing, self-supporting and self-extending Church"[1] was well within sight. By contrast, the MHM who had ordained their first Musoga priest in 1940, still had many European missionaries as pastoral priests in the villages. The MHM had, however, given some of their Basoga catechists more responsibilities and they had several Basoga boys in the minor seminary at Nyenga. Some of these boys would later be ordained priests.[2] It was therefore certain that the Basoga Roman Catholic leaders would, as their Anglican counterparts, increasingly assume more important responsibilities in their Church.

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1. Supra, p.183.

2. Between 1951 and 1962 there were seven Basoga ordained priests. The seven were, Frs.Mudago, Wakibi, Isabirye, Musana, Kanyi, Isiko and Sajjabi.
Interview with Fr.Kasadha on 25th March 1972 at Kyebando.

TABLE VI. The Basoga Clergymen 1918 - 1940

Wabuleta N	Ordained	deacon	in	1918
Ibula E	"	"	"	1922
Gwawala A	"	"	"	1924
Bajube Y	"	"	"	"
Mwanja S	"	"	"	1931
Bageya S	"	"	"	1933
Waibale Y	"	"	"	1935
Nayenga N M	"	"	"	1937-1940
Lutwama Y G	"	"	"	"
Nkoto N S	"	"	"	"
Kintu Z C	"	"	"	"

Information derived from relevant issues of Ebifa mu Buganda and Ekitabo ky'ebitesebwa Olukiiko lwe Gwanga NAC Busoga. (Minutes' book of the ruridecanal council). Kept in the busumba Archives at Iganga.

TABLE VII. The growth of the Christian population in Busoga

YEAR	CMS FOLLOWERS	MHM FOLLOWERS
1921	9,584	8,883
1926	18,333	18,748
1931	24,685	16,393
1936	31,468	24,131

The figures were derived from the relevant issues of the Uganda Blue Books.

The value of these figures is that they give a rough indication of the growth of the Christian population in Busoga during the inter-war period. However, they do not necessarily show the actual strength of the Busoga Church since many of those were counted as Christians would not be active memb rs of the Church. Also the figures do not include members of the independent Churches - see Chapter Six.

TABLE VIII. Showing some of the Government's Education grants (in £) to the CMS and MHM

YEAR	1925	1928	1931	1934	1936	1939
CMS	5,250	11,600	15,438	16,950	18,270	27,667
MHM	2,000	6,425	7,750	8,150	8,900	11,535

The figures were derived from the relevant issues of the Uganda Blue Books.

The increasing preoccupation of the missions with the development of education is clearly reflected in the growing government grants to these missions

CHAPTER VI: CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP IN BUSOGA BY 1940

One of the interesting developments in the Church in Busoga during the inter-war period was the beginning of church independency there.[1] The initial reaction of the church leadership in Busoga to this development varied from indifference to physical violence. What were the factors responsible for this type of reaction? Further church independency had the effect of enlarging the church leadership in Busoga. What kind of problems did the enlarged Christian leadership have to contend with in 1940?

The story of church independency has its origins in Buganda. The first case of an African independent church occurred there in 1914 when Joswa Kate Mugema, a former chief of Busiro county in protest, particularly against the practice of using medicine and doctors by the Christians, announced the formation of Ekibina kya Katonda Omu Ayinza Byona (KOAB) or Society of One Almighty God[2]. The second

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1. For convenience the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA) which is an American Mission Church and the Balokole (Revivals) who are still part of the Anglican Church will be discussed in the same Chapter.

2. Welbourn East African Rebels SCM Press 1961. p. 31-32. Welbourn also discussed the background leading to the final break between Mugema and the CMS on p. 15-58. Also M. Twaddle "The Religion of Malaki" a seminar paper March 1972 gives some new insight into KOAB, particularly with regard to its decline.

incident of church independency occurred again in Buganda in 1929 when Rueben Spartas, also an Anglican, revolted against European control and domination. Spartas formed his own church, the African Greek Orthodox Church (AGOC)[1]. KOAB or Malaki, named after Malaki Musajjakawa who was KOAB's chief agent, and AGOC soon spread their influence to the neighbouring countries.

Malaki and AGOC were introduced in Busoga by Baganda evangelists. The Bamalaki (Malakites) depended for their evangelistic work largely on the use of transitory evangelism which does not seem to have made a lasting impression on most of the Basoga. By contrast, AGOC which, like the MHM and the CMS, attempted to build permanent stations, is closely associated with Rev.Pasha who first introduced AGOC in Busoga in 1936. Rev. Pasha first started work at Nsinze and subsequently opened various other stations at Entafungirwa, Kasita and Nakaala. He still runs Nsinze, but Entafugirwa and Kasita have since been closed due to shortage of staff[2].

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1. Welbourn, p. 81. The growth of AGOC is discussed on p. 77-110.
For a general discussion of church independency see David Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa. Oxford University Press 1968, particularly p. 264-278

2. Interview with Rev.Pasha on 27th March 1972 at Nsinze. In the late 1950s when Welbourn did his field work in Busoga, Kasita was still open. Welbourn, p. 94.

The social conditions in Busoga in the inter-war period were, by and large, favourable to the spread of both Malaki and AGOC. There was, for example, widespread resentment against the government's policy of indiscriminate inoculation of both cattle and people against riderpest and plague[1] respectively. Also there was considerable protest against the use of the injection to treat syphilis which had, after the war, reached an epidemic level.[2] Some of the Basoga were therefore attracted to Malaki which presented the means to dodge government legislation and a forum through which to express social protest. Most of the Malaki and AGOC "converts" were however attracted to these churches because they baptised any one without any prior preparation[3] and the Christian name was a ticket to upward social mobility.

In 1930 a Muganda pastor, Guweddeko, introduced in Busoga the SDA, which had been operating in Buganda since 1927. Guweddeko obtained from Hagi Alimansi a small piece of land at Iganga where he built a small Church[4]. The SDA

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1. Supra, p. 234.

2. Interview with Lubogo on 29th March 1972 at Bugembe.

3. Interview with Rev Pasha on 27th March 1972 at Nsinze. Also Interview with Matayo Musowoko, a Malaki catechist, on 24th March 1972 at Busalamu.

4. Interview with Rev Awuyo - in charge of SDA Church at Iganga (Buseyi) - on 29th September 1971 at Buseyi.

does not seem to have been very attractive to the Basoga since it neither offered attractive social services nor did it, unlike Malaki and AGOC, offer "cheap baptism". According to Awuyo, a second station of SDA was opened at Kamuli, north Busoga, by Abuneri Mwanga, a Musoga and former member of the Anglican Church. But even there, the SDA's success seems to have been only very slim. Today, after about forty years of work in Busoga, the total membership of SDA in Busoga is estimated at only a thousand[1].

The available statistics indicate that in 1930 the Bamalaki in Busoga numbered 2,258 while the AGOC "converts" were estimated to be 1,400 in 1946[2]. Most of the "converts" to these new churches had been non-Christians, but as Abuneri Mwanga's example indicates, some of the "converts" had been members of either the Anglican or Roman Catholic Church. Indeed Awuyo and Pasha readily admitted that some of their "converts" had come from both the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches, but that there had been more Anglican secessionists than Roman Catholics[3]. This was mainly

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1. Interview with Awuyo on 29th September 1971 at Buseyi

2. Welbourn, p. 55; 96.

3. Interview with Awuyo on 29th September 1971 at Buseyi. Also Interview with Pasha on 27th March 1972 at Nsinze.

because the Anglicans, unlike the Roman Catholics, had translated and published the Bible in Luganda[1]. The beginning of church independency in Busoga had, therefore, created a situation whereby both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches were not only losing some of their "converts" to the new churches but had also to compete with the latter in the struggle to win new "converts". How did the Basoga professionals react to this blatant invasion of their ecclesiastical territory?

The reactions of the Basoga professionals to church independency were apparently influenced by both the European missionary reactions and the problems caused by independency in various local situations. When Malaki emerged as an independent Church, the MHM held the view that since Malaki was a Protestant movement, it would hardly have any direct effect on Catholicism. The MHM suggested however, that some Catholics "who are forbidden to receive the sacraments because of their bad morals" would probably join the movement. But the number of such people was too small to cause any widespread anxiety among the MHM. It was speculated, however, that some of the "heathens" who would

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1. Barrett has demonstrated that there is a correlation between the publication of the Bible in the vernacular languages and the incidence of independency. Barrett op.cit. p. 105

have become Catholics might instead become Bamalaki[1].

In other words, although the MHM did not see the beginning of church independency as a phenomenon that would affect them directly, they were aware of the possible damage which church independency could do to their cause. It was this understanding which determined the reaction of the MHM to church independency. The MHM and the leadership at the village level refrained from attacking church independency directly, but they took precautions[2] against the development of similar "movements" among their followers. For example, the stress placed on Catholic union particularly in the catechist meetings[3] was aimed at counteracting secession tendencies. Also the formation of bibina by the local Christians was apparently intended to discourage secession.

The CMS, where independency had first appeared, was understandably more sensitive, at least initially, to church

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1. "The Anti-Medicine sect in Uganda" Report written for MHM by Fr.J.Reonick, 22nd January 1916. Kept in file VII History 1914-16. Bishop house Archives, Jinja.

2. If the MHM had had vernacular biblical literature in circulation (see p.310) these precautionary measures may not have worked.

3. See for example Appendix A.8.

independency than the MHM. Bishop Willis of the CMS openly attacked Malaki for their policy of "baptism on the cheap", and the Anglican Saza chief of Kyagwe, Hamu Mukasa, violently expelled agents of Malaki from his Saza[1]. This initial CMS outburst was however, short-lived. It soon disappeared as it was replaced by a general attitude of indifference to church independency.

The arrival of church independency in Busoga seems to have hardly stirred up any excitement from either the MHM or CMS leadership there. There was, however, one incident in which Pasha (of AGOC) clashed with the CMS catechist at Buwongo, one mile west of Pasha's station at Nsinze. The incident was, as Pasha admitted, caused by the action he took to baptise several of the boys and girls who had been in the catechumens' class at Buwongo. This incident, which caused considerable tension between AGOC and the CMS at Nsinze, did not, however, provoke similar developments elsewhere in Busoga[2]. This was because the incident was possibly seen as a local one with no major "national"

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1. Welbourn p. 38; 39
2. Interview with Pasha on 27th March 1972 at Nsinze

significance or implications. Secondly the inaction on the part of the rest of the CMS church workers further reveals the indifference and complacency with which church independency was received.in Busoga. But why was the CMS leadership in Busoga indifferent to church independency?

The obvious answer, which has already been alluded to[1] is that the Basoga leaders apparently held the view that as church independency was not causing undue concern in Buganda there was no reason for it to do so in Busoga. However, there are other more important factors which help to explain the Basoga CMS leaders' attitude and reaction to church independency.

During the inter-war period, the MHM and the CMS, which were already rather well established in Busoga, were increasingly putting more emphasis on the building of institutions. There was, for example a growing interest in the building of schools since these were becoming the main channel through which "converts" were obtained[2]. The independent Churches and SDA lacked the resources to

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1. Supra, p. 310.
2. Supra, (Ch.V)

establish comparable institutions. In other words the independent Churches and the SDA did not have the economic backing that would have enabled them to appear as serious rivals to the MHM and the CMS.

Secondly, the leadership of the independent Churches and the SDA was extremely small, and in the case of Malaki, it was disintegrating. After the deportation of Mugema and Malaki to northern Uganda in 1929[1], the government became increasingly sensitive to the activities of Malaki. Most of the leaders in Busoga, Matayo Musowoko alleged, were imprisoned on the grounds that they obstructed government policy. This action, which put the Malaki leadership in Busoga into disarray, also frustrated the Malaki followers, thus forcing many of them to join either the Roman Catholic or Anglican Church[2]. Church independency was, therefore, helping indirectly the established mission

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1. Interview with Matayo Musowoko (a Malaki catechist) on 24th March 1972 at Busalamu.
   Also Welbourn p. 48.

2. Interview with Musowoko on 24th March 1972 at Busalamu. Musowoko was imprisoned for four months on a charge of obstructing government policy in 1939. Also a retiring Malaki catechist who could not be replaced would leave his "flock" to join the established mission Church. Welbourn p. 46.

Church to recruit new "converts".

Further there was no indication that the independent Churches and the SDA were taking any serious steps to attract and train some of their Basoga followers as either catechists or clergymen. AGOC had a seminary at Degeya in Buganda. However, the first group of eight Basoga boys who had been sent there in 1937 to receive training leading to ordination, abandoned their training on grounds that the conditions in the seminary were intolerable. Pasha has not since had any more candidates to send to Degeya[1]. Malaki, on the other hand, did not have a seminary or theological college. Malaki, like the apostles in the New Testament,[2] appointed "elders", who had no training, to look after the newly formed congregation[3]. The SDA had an elementary training school at Nchwang in Buganda. But the SDA had no proper theological college until 1948 when they opened a seminary at Bugema, Buganda[4].

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1. Interview with Pasha on 27th March 1972 at Nsinze.
2. Acts 14:23
3. Interview with Musowoko, on 24th March 1972 at Busalamu.
4. Interview with Awuyo on 29th September 1971 at Buseyi. Also Pirouet (editor) A Dictionary of Christianity in Uganda. Department of Religious Studies, Makerere University. 1969. p. 72.

Throughout the inter-war period, the leadership of the independent Churches and the SDA was not only small but also weak and largely untrained. For example, AGOC which is headed by Pasha, who is himself not formally trained as a pastor, had only three Basoga helpers in 1937. Two of the helpers soon abandoned their jobs and they have not since been replaced. Fora, who was the third helper, still retains his job as head of the second AGOC station at Nakaale.[1] Given its small, weak and amateurish leadership, church independency could not, in the inter-war period, be regarded by the Basoga professionals as a threat to their established congregations and positions. Hence the general indifference and complacency of particularly the Basoga CMS leaders.

In 1937, the Balokole, whose activities would shake the Basoga professionals out of their complacency, began preaching the Gospel in Busoga[2]. The Balokole movement was started by Bulasio Kigozi, a Muganda teacher in Ruanda

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1. Interview with Pasha on 27th March 1972 at Nsinze.

2. Mika Mwavu, "Obulamu Bw'owoluganda Tomasi Mukabire 1910-39" (The Life of our brother Tomasi Mukabire), a short paper in Mwavu's possession. Mwavu was a close friend of Mukabire and this short paper Mwavu wrote was based on his personal recollections.

in 1935. The movement soon spread to Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania[1]. In Busoga the Balokole movement was introduced and spread mainly by a small, but highly mobile, fearless and vocal group of committed Basoga namely, Miriamu Mwavu (Mrs.), Mika Mwavu, Mesulamu Waiswa, Aloni Isabirye, Firimoni Kireri, E.Wakibi and T.K.Mukabire[2].

The Balokole (saved ones) who, unlike Malaki and AGOC, did not secede from the Anglican Church, and had no formal structures of authority. When asked who the leader of the Balokole was in the 1940s, Mika Mwavu replied:

> We did not have a leader in the proper sense of that word. But in a way Waiswa and myself could be said to have been the leaders. We decided when and where to meet. We also acted as advisers and guardians to the rest of the Balokole. Generally, however, every Mulokole (singular) is a leader. What I mean is that every Mulokole is expected to act both as a responsible person and to proclaim the Gospel[3].

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1. A detailed account of the Balokole movement is given by Max Warren in Revival. An Enquiry. SCM Press 1954. Also J V Taylor. The Growth of the Church in Buganda p. 99-104.

2. The seven people named here were literate as they had had at least the first six years of education. They were all school teachers except Kireri who was a Gombolola chief at Namalemba and Isabirye who was already a CMS catechist.
Mika Mwavu, "Obulamu Bw'owoluganda Tomasi Mukabire 1910-1939"

3. Interview with Mika Mwavu on 22nd October 1971 at Iwawu.

It seems that the egalitarianism which characterised the Balokole movement was based on the understanding that every Mulokole received the same gift of the Holy Spirit which gave him the power and wisdom to proclaim the Gospel fearlessly. Clearly this understanding, which served to reaffirm the responsibility of the laity in the Church, would, as will be presently discussed, be seen as a threat to the ordained ministry.

The main object of the Balokole was not to make new Christian "converts" but to raise those who were already Christians to a new and higher level of Christian living. This would be achieved by making public confessions of one's sins and living according to the ethical teaching of Jesus Christ.[1] The Balokole directly and fearlessly challenged the church leaders, their congregations and the non-Christians to confess their sins in order to be saved. Indeed Mabel Ensor, the former CMS missionary, rather

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1. Interview with Miriamu Mwavu on 17th September 1971 at Iwawu.

resentfully observed:

> This 'confessing' was announced and taught with terrifying vehemence. It was 'the new way' 'the one way', the only way of 'salvation'; everyone who refused it was 'unsaved'. Everybody was attacked, missionaries followed up the road by teachers yelling after them that they had sins of immorality ... Young and ignorant Africans would call at houses, announce that they were saved ..... and then 'challenge' the European or the African to 'break' and confess his or her (sins) there and then. 1

The Basoga CMS church leaders were as disturbed by the activities of the Balokole as their European colleagues. Several of the Basoga clergymen, these will not be named since they are still living, reacted by using violence against the Balokole. Mika Mwavu recalled, for example, one incident in which Rev.X on discovering, at a dinner party, that the man sitting directly opposite him was a Mulokole, walked round the table, struck the man in the face, and ordered him to leave.[2] This is certainly an extreme example but it helps to indicate the kind of tension there was - at least initially - between the Balokole and some of the church leaders. Also most of the church leaders refused to let known Balokole either

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1. Quoted in Welbourn's East African Rebels. p. 73

2. Interview with Mika Mwavu on 2nd October 1971 at Iwawu.

attend or lead services in their churches.[1]

It will be remembered that Christianity itself is a radical religion which, if accepted, requires the newly converted person to undergo radical moral and spiritual transformation[2]. The missionaries were often distressed when they discovered that their Basoga "converts" had not made a radical break with their traditional world. For example, in 1923 when she was posted to Kamuli (north Busoga), Mabel Ensor complained that although there was a large number of "baptised professing Christians, yet statistics give no real idea of the truth". She was disappointed that a very large number of the baptised Christians had returned to polygamy, traditional religion and drinking. This forced her to conclude, "that much so-called Christianity is not the real thing but a veneer"[3]. In other words Mabel Ensor was attacking the superficiality of Christianity in Busoga. But this too was the main problem to which the Balokole addressed themselves. One wonders, therefore, why the activities of the Balokole

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1. Interview with Miriamu Mwavu on 17th September 1971 at Iwawu.

2. See for example, p. 126-127.

3. Quoted by Welbourn op.cit. p. 62.
A similar complaint was made by Fr.Drontmann of Iganga in 1913.
Fr.Drontmann to bishop Biermans 16th February 1913.
File IV Reports. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

initially caused so much anxiety and led the matter into conflict with the CMS church authorities.

First the CMS church leaders resented the idea of public confession, which was so central to the Balokole's understanding of the concept of salvation. To most of the CMS church leaders, public confession would, it was feared, both debase Christianity and undermine the confidence of the Christian community in their leadership[1]. Secondly by claiming that every Mulokole had the capability and the duty to preach the Gospel[2], the Balokole movement lent itself to being misinterpreted as an anti-clerical movement. Indeed many of the church leaders felt that the Balokole were attempting to establish an alternative lay ministry. Hence the practice of banning known Balokole from leading services in some of the churches.[3]

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1. Interview with Rev.Kadali on 1st October 1971 at Iganga. Also Interview with Byansi on 21st October 1971 at Butongole.

2. Supra, p.317.

3. See below, p.319.

Further whereas the Balokole believed that only the gift of the Holy Spirit would be necessary to qualify one to preach, the church leaders believed that professional training was just as important as the gift of the Holy Spirit. As most of the Balokole had not received any theological training, the church leaders were anxious about the Balokole's biblical interpretation and exposition of the Scriptures[1].

Thirdly the religious militancy and boldness of the Balokole was as menacing to the CMS European missionaries as it was to the Basoga CMS church leaders. The Balokole's uncompromising teaching on salvation, for example, threatened to divide the congregations in the "saved'and 'unsaved'. The latter were made to feel as if they were second rate Christians. Eriya Mukasa, for example, made this accusation against the Balokole in 1941 when he evicted Mwavu and his family from the Kaliro church land where the latter had

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1. Interview with Mika Mwavu on 2nd October 1971 at Iwawu. Mwavu also recalled that in 1941 twenty seven Balokole (including Mwavu) were expelled from Mukono theological college. This was because they made the teaching in the college difficult since they had refused to accept the idea of criticizing the Bible.

built a house[1]. Further accusations of hypocrisy were made publicly by the Balokole against the church leaders. These accusations could be damaging especially as there had been a few individual cases of moral lapse, among the church leadership[2], which the Balokole did not hesitate to quote in support of their claims. The church leaders felt, however, that by making the sweeping accusations against them, the vigilant Balokole would gradually tarnish the church leaders' public image.[3]

Lastly the Balokole were also as unpopular to the Christian and non-Christian communities in Busoga, as they were to the Anglican church leadership. This was because the Balokole were on the whole seen as a self-righteous group of people who went round the country accusing every non-Mulokole of being sinful and immoral[4].

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1. Interview with Miriamu Mwavu on 17th September 1971 at Iwawu. For information about Eriya Mukasa see p. 194.

2. Supra, p. 262.
Also the Minute books of both Iganga and Kaliro reveal many other cases of catechists who were dismissed for sexual offences.

3. Interview with Kadali on 1st October 1971 at Iganga.

4. Interview with Byansi on 21st October 1971 at Butongole.

It seems, however, that much of the unpopularity of the Balokole stemmed from the fact that the Balokole movement threatened to upset the existing social order and to eliminate some of the traditional institutions, particularly the kinship groups and clans in which the Basoga Christians and non-Christians still experienced social solidarity and security.

It will be remembered that when Christianity was first introduced in Busoga, it threatened to destroy some of the traditional values and institutions. However, as the Basoga began to embrace Christianity, they discovered, in spite of missionary teaching, that it was possible to become a Christian and retain, at the same time, many of the traditional values and institutions. For example, virtually all the church leaders who were interviewed, indicated that when they became Christians, they stopped practising traditional religion but that they remained full members of their clans; they attended all the clan meetings and participated in the various clan rituals.[1]

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1. A similar situation, apparently, prevailed in Buganda. The leading Protestant church man and Katikiro (Prime Minister) of Buganda, Apolo Kagwa for example, retained the full membership of his clan. It is alleged that on one occasion he was harshly rebuked by the clan elders who felt that Kagwa had infringed their authority. Kagwa later rectified his mistake.
M.Wright. Buganda in the Heroic Age p. 208-210

In other words while one remained a Christian, chiefly for utilitarian purposes[1], one retained one's senses of belonging to the traditional institutions and derived one's security primarily from the same source. This situation was unacceptable to the Balokole.

The Balokole take very seriously the idea of the Atonement, the message of the reconciliation of God and Man and Man to Man through Jesus Christ. It is on this common belief that their community is built. Every person who becomes a Mulokole, irrespective of colour or nationality, is regarded by all the Balokole as owoluganda or brethren. Although, for purposes of social intercourse, the Balokole tend to form small groups around a dominant personality, their sense of brotherhood extends well beyond the clan, tribal and even national boundaries. Indeed Miriamu Mwavu pointed out that they (Balokole) recognised only one "clan" composed of oboluganda (plural) and headed by the crucified Christ. She further observed that on becoming a Mulokole one would, therefore, tend to limit one's association with the non-Balokole and would sever one's relationship with the traditional

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1. See, for example, Lubogo's and Mutaka's evidence, p.134; 135.

clan. This would be necessary because the brethren would look after their own kind. The community of Balokole would, for example, help to find wives - from their own community - for the young men and vice versa, look after the sick and bury the dead[1]. In other words the community of Balokole would give to an individual the personal security hitherto provided by the kinship groups and clans.

It is now clear that the Balokole movement had taken and "christianised" some of the traditional practices and beliefs which they continued to use in their new community of abaluganda. This represented a genuine radical attempt to blend Christianity and the traditional world view together. At the same time, however, this action seems to have been seen by most of the Basoga as an attempt to rival and weaken, let alone destroy, the traditional institutions which had, in spite of the spread of Christianity, continued to provide personal security and a sense of identity to virtually all the Christians and non-Christian Basoga. Further it seems that the "peaceful coexistence" of the traditional world view and Christianity had come to

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1. Interview with Miriamu Mwavu on 17th September 1971 at Iwawu.

be regarded, particularly by the church leaders, as the "established order" which had to be defended against any disruptive tendencies.

The establishment of a community of brethren who appeared to be self-righteous and recognised a common saviour, as opposed to a common ancestor, threatened to disrupt the prevailing system of "peaceful coexistence". Hence the initial desparate attempt by many of the CMS church leaders to discourage the growth of the Balokole movement.

The initial clash between the Balokole and the CMS church leaders should not, however, blind one to the positive contribution which the Balokole made to the CMS church leadership in Busoga. The Balokole injected a new spirit, a "fighting" spirit into the otherwise complacent CMS church leadership. Indeed the initial reaction of the church leadership against the Balokole could aptly be regarded as what had marked the beginning of the end of the CMS church leadership's complacency. By the early 1940s when the tension between the church leaders and the Balokole had virtually died out, the church leaders were more alert and committed to their work than before the appearance of the Balokole [1].

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1. Interview with Kadali on 1st October 1971 at Iganga.

Secondly, the Balokole appeared at a time when the once strong lay leadership of the Basoga chiefs in the church was declining. The Balokole who could be rightly regarded as the heir to the declining chiefs, re-established the role of the laity at the leadership level. The importance of this development appears to have been two-fold. It established a core of committed and enthusiastic lay leadership which has since helped, in collaboration with the established leadership, to keep the spiritual life of the Church alive. Indeed Hastings observed, whith seemingly undue emphasis, that the "real life of the Anglican Church has for long been carried forward by the Revival movement rather than by the establishment"[1]. Further the voluntary leadership of the Balokole may well have helped to reinforce the church leadership which, because of its declining attraction[2] and generally weak financial position, could not employ new and "educated" people to strengthen the existing leadership.

The Roman Catholic Church did not have a revival or Balokole movement. It may well be that this was

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1. Hastings op. cit. p. 167.

2. Supra, p. 301.

because the MHM, as already observed, did not circulate vernacular biblical literature among their "converts". Also the outbreak of a revival movement may have been discouraged, as Hastings suggested, by the "greater extensiveness of the Roman Catholic expatriate missionary activity"[1]. While this practice may have had the disadvantage of denying the Basoga Roman Catholic church leaders the opportunity of taking initiative on a wide range of administrative issues, it seems however, to have had the advantage of keeping the church leaders alert and, possibly, effective.

The problems which the Christian leadership in Busoga was confronted with by 1940 rose not from the rivalry of different Churches and their leadership but from the rapid change which the Basoga had begun to experience. It has been noted that while the government and the other related institutions benefited from the rapidly growing number of schools and rising level of academic standards, the church leadership in Busoga hardly benefited from this change.

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1. Hastings op.cit. p. 170

2. [illegible], p.

The church leadership, particularly the catechists, remained largely either untrained or poorly trained. For example, as late as 1953, Fr.Saraber C. of Wesunire (north Busoga) described the catechists as follows:

> They have too little knowledge of our faith so that they cannot even explain the Sunday Gospel. They have no religious training. There has not been any development since the early beginning. There are no or certainly not sufficient books of explaining the faith. They have no Primary education so that many hardly know to read and write. The lack of wages keeps many young men back from this beautiful work. 1

The Anglican Church catechists were not as poorly trained as the catechists Fr.Saraber described. But the whole Anglican leadership, including the Balokole, could be rightly described as poorly educated since the best educated among the clergymen had only had six to eight years of education.[2] The independent Churches too, as already indicated, used a poorly educated and trained leadership. There was, therefore, a real danger that the Church would be increasingly associated with the poorly educated and would subsequently be progressively ignored

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1. Fr.Saraber to Bishop Billington. 10th January 1953. File, XIV History. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

2. Supra, p. 266.

by the educated group which would, in the following years, play an influential political role in Busoga.

Secondly, in 1940, the church leadership was faced with the new and rapidly growing problem of the secularization of human life. In other words a situation was developing in which human experience was being increasingly withdrawn from the direct reference to religion. The growing number of schools, particularly boarding schools, were partly responsible for the development of this new situation, but other factors were also involved.

Jinja, which in 1901, had become the headquarters of the colonial administration in Busoga was by 1940, rapidly becoming an important shopping centre. Further Jinja was linked by railway to the cotton growing area of the northern province, to Mombasa port by the Uganda railway which reached there in 1923 and to Kisumu port by steamer. It is little wonder, therefore, that it became, as Cyril and Rhona Sofer observed "the main outlet for the rapidly expanding crop (cotton) of the Eastern and Northern Provinces"[1]. Also, as would be expected, Jinja attracted a number of light industries, for example, the cigarette factory which was started there in 1928.[2]

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1. Cyril and Rhona Sofer. Jinja Transformed, Kampala 1955. p. 13.

2. Cyril and Rhona Sofer, p.14.

The growing industrial and commercial activities in Jinja attracted both local and immigrant labour. In 1930 the African population in Jinja was approximately 800. But in 1948, it had risen to 4,400[1]. This rapid rise of the urban population may well have accelerated the process of secularization. By living either in Jinja or going to a boarding school, both of which lay outside the lineage or clan frontiers, one escaped from the kinship obligations and the watchful eyes of the clan leaders and relatives. Further the urban or school enviroment would certainly discourage one to perform some of the religious traditional rituals. Consequently one would tend to withdraw some aspects of one's way of life from the influence of traditional religion.

It is tempting to suggest that the decline of the influence of traditional religion would, particularly in a boarding school situation, enable Christianity to make a deeper impact on the pupils.

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1. Cyril and Rhona Sofer p. 14.
Most of this population would not live in the town permanently. They would be mainly people who had gone to work in the town for a year to, say, five years, before returning home to live on their ancestral land.

Indeed prolonged separation of the Basoga pupils from their allegedly "evil" traditional enviroment was believed to make them better Christians[1]. However, the growing gulf between the schoolmaster and the church worker, and subsequently, the school and the Church may well have gradually undermined the Church's influence on the pupils. Also the missionary and Balokoles' attack on the superficiality of Christianity in Busoga[2] and the example of the Saza chief of Kigulu, Oboja, who, in spite of his long training in the CMS schools at Mengo and Budo, openly showed his disregard for Christianity[3], would tend to indicate that the apparent decline of the influence of traditional religion in schools did not necessarily lead to a deeper commitment to Christianity.

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1. Sister Mary Francesca in SJA Autumn quarter 1930. Volume XIII. No. 3. p. 164. See also R.Oliver op. cit. p. 73.

2. See, for example, p.320.

3. Supra, p.242.

In other words although the school experience tended to weaken the traditional religious influence on an individual, most of the Basoga who had gone through that experience retained only a nominal allegiance to Christianity[1]. It seems therefore that the schools, contrary to the missionary and the Basoga church leaders' expectations[2], were gradually contributing to the growth of the process of secularization.

Christianity like traditional religion, was losing its influence on the Christian population in Jinja. The Christian Church, as Fr.Jackson admitted as early as 1913, found it difficult to keep a proper watch over the Christians there[3]. Indeed Rev.Waibale, who worked as omusumba in Jinja in 1940, recalled that many of the Christians on reaching Jinja tended to abandon the Church as they settled down to earn a living[4]. In other words a new generation of secularized people, associated mainly with the schools

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1. See also, p. 127, footnote 2 and 3.
2. See for example p.291.
3. Fr.Jackson to bishop Biermans. 28th February 1913. File IV Reports. Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.
4. Interview with Rev.Waibale on 11th March 1972 at Namutumba.

and urban area, was beginning to emerge in 1940. The Christian leadership has since had to contend with this growing problem.

In spite of the initial clash between the Balokole and the Anglican Church leaders, the emergence of the Balokole and the arrival of church independency seems to have both alerted and strengthened the already established Anglican and Roman Catholic Church leadership. However, the quality of the church leadership remained unimproved. It was this unimproved leadership, loaded with unsolved problems, particularly the growing problem of secularization, that had, on the whole, to lead the young Busoga Church into the new, and possibly more challenging, period of the post-war years.

Conclusion

Although Christianity was introduced in Busoga by the European and Baganda missionaries whose role in the development of the Church in Busoga remained important throughout this period (1891-1940), the crucial task of expanding and shaping the subsequent growth of the Church in Busoga increasingly fell on the shoulders of the Basoga church workers. The trained and untrained Basoga catechists were faced with the responsibility - especially during the pioneer period - of interpreting the Christian Gospel to their audiences. Also they determined, by and large, the

pace of Christian expansion in their areas and the task of helping the newly "converted" Basoga adjust themselves to the new Christian morality and style of life rested, largely, with these catechists. Christian expansion benefited enormously from the co-operation of the Basoga chiefs - particularly the Saza and Gombolola chiefs and indeed the Baganda regents before them - who used their political influence, power and wealth to further the growth of the Church in their areas.

During the inter-war period, ten[1] of the CMS trained catechists were ordained and subsequently promoted to the rank of clergymen. This enabled them to play even a greater part in the organisation, development and administration of their Church. Although by 1940 the MHM had ordained only one Musoga as a priest, clearly the MHM also followed a policy of increasingly allowing the indigenous people to assume more responsibilities in their own Church.

With the growing government and missionary interest in promoting education, there was a marked decline, particularly in the Anglican Church, of missionary influence at the pastoral level. Further the rapid political social and

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1. The CMS ordained a total of eleven Basoga (see table VI) during this period, but one of them Yokana Waibale, had been a school teacher (not a catechist) before his ordination.

economic changes forced the Basoga chiefs gradually to disengage themselves from playing a leadership role in the Church. These developments further enabled the Basoga clergymen, catechists, and Christians to assume more responsibilities in order to maintain and expand the Christian Church in Busoga.

At the end of this period (1940) the Basoga professionals, particularly the Anglicans, who had been reinforced by the emergence of the Balokole movement, were virtually responsible for all the pastoral work of the Christian Church in Busoga.

APPENDIX A

The Catechists' code of behaviour and their duties[1]

1. No Catechist should introduce into his house a girl whom he is going to marry before the marriage, as is the custom with the heathens. If found out, he will be dismissed. If a Catechist is publicly proven to lead a bad life or heathen practises he should be dismissed immediately. If no public scandal is given or in the case of a mere weakness the local lukiiko of catechists investigates each individual case.

2. Every Catechist should receive the Sacraments frequently. Those living thirty miles away should go to Communion once a month. Those five to ten miles, every fortnight and those less than five miles, every Sunday.

3. A Catechist should say his morning and night prayers in common with his family.

4. A Catechist should have or allow no bad talk.

The Catechists' Work

5. To explain the Catechism.

6. Every six months to bring into the mission two readers who know besides the morning catechism also to read two letters together.

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1. Document, in File IX History 1920-1923, Bishop's house Archives, Jinja.

7. To impress upon their readers to respect the priest and salute him and all others in authority politely.

8. To teach the spirit of Union.

9. To visit the sick in case of an epidemic even if he had to leave the school work.

10. To slowly bring home to their readers and Catholics the necessity to support the Church.

11. To visit the aged and keep a record of them.

12. Daily to read books.

The "Catechists' code of behaviour and their duties" was first read to the delegates attending the first catechists Lukiiko at Jinja on 21st August 1922, and thereafter, to the delegates attending the subsequent catechists' meetings.

APPENDIX B

The growing popularity of schools and the job opportunities that schooling opened out for the individual were expressed in a song, Omaama Onehere Ensimbi (My mother give me money) which, my informants suggested, was either a late 1930's or early 1940's composition. It was possibly composed in Bulamogi county since it is in the Lulamogi dialect. I am indebted to A. Musulube for writing the song in Lulamogi.

Omaama Onehere Ensimbi

1. Omaama onehere, e.e
   Omaama onehere, e.e
   Omaama onehere, Ompe ensimbi neyabire omukusoma
   Omaama onehere, ompe ensimbi neyabire omukusoma
   Ompe neyabire, ompe ensimbi neyabire omukusoma.

2. Ekisomi kyaizire, e.e
   Atalighayo nsimbi, e.e
   Ati mbu talisoma, Ompe ensimbi neyabire omukusoma
   Omaama onehere, Ompe ensimbi neyabire omukusoma.

3. Gavumenti yakobere, e.e
   Mbu Omwana atalisoma, e.e
   Akalimo talisuna, Ompe ensimbi neyabire omukusoma
   Omaama onehere, Ompe ensimbi neyabire omukusoma.

4. Abe Kaliro baabire, e.e

Nabe Kamuli baabire, e.e

Namutumba baabire, Ompe ensimbi neyabire omukusoma

Omaama onehere, Ompe ensimbi neyabire omukusoma

Nze ompe neyabire, Ompe ensimbi neyabire omukusoma.

Translation: My mother give me money (school fees)[1]

1. My mother give me, e.e

My mother give me, e.e

My mother give me money so that I go to school

My mother give me money so that I go to school

You give me, give me money so that I go to school.

2. The schools have come, e.e

If you do not pay money, e.e

You do not go to school, you give me money so that

I go to school

My mother give me, give me money so that I go to school.

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1 In 1933, for example, the school fees were as follows:
Primary day schools: Sub-grade and Elementary school (first four years) the fees were 12 to 40 shillings per year. Central and Middle school (fifth and sixth years) the fees were 12 to 48 shillings per year.
Boarding schools: Middle school and Junior Secondary, the fees were 70 to 420 shillings per year.
Vocational training: Makerere College: the fees were 300 shillings per year. Government technical school fees were 150 shillings per year.
Uganda Annual Colonial Reports 1933. No.1670, p.37.

3. The government has announced, e.e
That the child who will not go to school, e.e
He will not get a job, you give me money so that I go to school.
My mother give me, give me money so that I go to school.

4. The children at Kaliro have gone, e.e
Those at Kamuli have gone, e.e
And those at Namutumba have gone, you give me money so that I go to school.
My mother give me, give me money so that I go to school
You give me so that I go, give me money so that I go to school.

APPENDIX C. LIST OF SOURCES

A. PRIMARY SOURCES.

(1) Oral Informants.

(2) Archival Sources.

(a) Unpublished (Non-official).

(b) Unpublished (official).

(3) Missionary Publications.

(4) Government Publications.

(5) Books, Pamphlets and Articles.

B. SECONDARY SOURCES.

(1) Unpublished Ph.D Theses, Papers, Fieldnotes and Manuscripts.

(2) Books, Pamphlets and Articles.

(1) Oral Informants

The list of oral informants includes only those who were very helpful. Those who were less helpful and the casual informants, who were numerous, have been excluded.

1 Awuyo, Gersham (Rev.)
Born: 1931.
Occupation: Musumba in charge of east and south-east Busoga.
Denomination: Seventh Day Adventist.
His parents and brothers were Christians (Protestants) but he was not baptised when he was young. In 1944 he started okusoma at a Protestant village Church but just before he was baptised, he attended a SDA meeting where he was "converted" and subsequently baptised in 1947; went to SDA schools and in 1964 was ordained priest.
Formal interview at his home at Buseyi (near Iganga), 29 September 1971.

2 Bakalinzaki, Zefaniya
Born: 1909
Occupation: Retired catechist and schoolmaster
Denomination: Protestant
His parents were not Christians but his elder brother, Samusoni Bageya was one of the Basoga catechists who were ordained during the inter-war period (see Table VI). He was baptised by Rev. Erisa Musisi, a Muganda, at Namutumba in 1920. Six years later he was trained as a Catechist at Iganga; served in various places in Busoga and retired in 1967, now earns his living by growing cotton.
Formal interview at his home at Nawampandu (Busiki county) 9 October 1971.

3 Byansi, Sala (Mrs)
Born: 1891
Occupation: Retired catechist, now a house wife
Denomination: Protestant
First went to the missionary station at Iganga to get her skin disease (olughere) cured; stayed with the CMS lady missionaries; started okusoma and was baptised in 1906. By 1910 she had started going on evangelistic tours with Miss Welsh. Sala addressed the meetings because Miss Welsh did not know the local language. Married before the First World War, continued working as a Catechist until the 1940's.
Formal interview at her home at Butongole (Bugweri county) 21 October 1971.

4 Byansi, Erieza (Sala's husband)
Born: 1889
Occupation: Retired catechist, now earns his living by selling Menvu (ripe bananas)
Denomination: Protestant
Started okusoma in 1902 but was not baptised until 1906. As soon as he was baptised, the European missionaries asked him to begin working as omusomesa; had formal training as a catechist in the 1920s. Worked in various parts of Busoga until he retired in the 1940s. Talkative and a strong believer in the resurrection of the dead.
Formal interview at his home at Butongole, 21 October 1971.

5 Genda, Yosiya
Born: 1881
Occupation: Retired house-boy and tailor
Denomination: Protestant
He was Nuwa Kikwabanga's (a Muganda clergyman) house-boy at Bukaleba between 1900 and 1901; was later baptised and started working as Miss Pilgrim's house-boy at Iganga in 1902. Although a house-boy, Miss Pilgrim often asked him to help her to teach reading to the baptism candidates. While here, he also learnt the use of a sewing machine. This was to become his trade until the late 1950s when he gave it up as his eyesight was failing. His memory is deteriorating rapidly.
Formal interview at his home at Iganga, 27 September 1971.

6 Ivulungu, Matayo
Born: 1896
Occupation: Peasant
Denomination: Catholic
He had worked on the Jinja-Kakindu railway in 1911. He became a Roman Catholic in the late 1930s and although he never worked as a catechist he has been a keen supporter of the Roman Catholic Church; knows many of the Catechists intimately and has considerable knowledge of the Basogas' traditional religion.
Formal interview at his home at Nawandala (Kigulu county) 20 November 1971.

7 Kadali, Abuneri (Rev.)
Born: 1913
Occupation: Rural Dean (Iganga)
Denomination: Protestant
Kezekiya Tenywa, a Musoga catechist in Bukedi and a friend of Kadali, took him to Bukedi at the age of twelve. Started

okusoma while in Bukedi and was baptised in 1927. He returned to Busoga where he went to school at Iganga. He taught for a year (1935) before he was recalled to receive formal training as a grade "C" teacher at Iganga. In 1941 he gave up the school teacher's job and went to Mukono Theological College to train as a clergyman; was ordained in 1950; toured Britain in 1964 and on his return was appointed rural dean - a position he still holds. He provided a lot of helpful information on the general development of the Church in Busoga.
Formal interview at his home at Iganga (Kigulu county)
4 October 1971.

8 Kasadha, Thomas (Fr.)
Born: 1909
Occupation: Pastoral priest
Denomination: Catholic
His father, Gavamukulya, was taken to Buganda as a captive. While there he became a Catholic and a catechist. In the early 1900s Gavamukulya returned to Iganga and continued working as a catechist. Kasadha was born here. At the age of seven he began okusoma at the Iganga Mission and in 1922 he joined the minor seminary at Nyenga. On 21 December 1940 he was ordained a priest at Gaba Seminary. He has served in various places in Busoga, Bukedi and Buganda and since 1967 he has worked as the pastoral priest in Bunya county (formerly devastated by the sleeping sickness epidemic). He enjoys talking and is well-informed.
Formal interview at his home at Kyebando (Bunya county)
25 March 1972.

9 Kazibira, Yerusaniya
Born: 1908
Occupation: Retired Gombolola chief, now a peasant.
Denomination: Protestant
Is the son of Daudi Mutekanga who was the regent of Bugabula county between 1913 and 1930. Kazibira started okusoma in 1915, was baptised by Rev. Yoswa Kiwavu (a Muganda) in 1919 and went to Balangira high school, Kamuli. He left in 1926 to take up a teaching post at Namutumba. In 1930 he went to Mukono to be trained as a grade "A" teachers. In 1934 he began to teach the grade"C" students at Iganga and in 1940 he was appointed Assistant Supervisor of CMS schools in Busoga. Three years later he was appointed a Gombolola chief, a post he held for the next eighteen years.
Formal interview at his home at Kasolo (Kigulu county)
5 October 1971.

10 Lubogo, Yokoniya
Born: 1890
Occupation: Retired Treasurer Busoga Government, now a businessman
Denomination: Protestant
Went to Zibondo's ekisagati (1905) to work as a page; was baptised by Rev. Nakumanyanga (a Muganda) in 1907. In 1912 he trained as a school teacher at Namirembe (Buganda) and on graduating he was posted to the Balangira High School, Kamuli. He taught at Kamuli for one year before going for further training at Budo. During the First World War he was conscripted into the army. Between 1919 and 1924 he was at Jinja as D.C's interpreter. In 1924 he was appointed a Gombolola chief and was shortly promoted to become the Saza chief of Bulamogi. In 1928 he visited Britain. In the 1930s he was appointed Treasurer of the Busoga Government, a post he resigned in the 1950s. He is the author of A History of Busoga and was one of the founders of the "Young Busoga Association". He enjoys talking and has an alert memory and is very well-informed.
Formal interview at his home at Bugembe (Butembe county) 29 March 1972.

11 Lukando, Kalori
Born: 1897
Occupation: Retired catechist, now a peasant
Denomination: Catholic
His parents were not Christians and his father was a polygamist. On his own initiative he started okusoma in 1911 and was baptised the following year. He then worked as a catechist in various places in Busoga from 1912 to 1953 when he retired.
Formal interview at his home at Nabisoigi (Busiki county) 15 March 1972.

12 Mukunya, Aloni
Born: 1898
Occupation: Retired catechist, now a peasant
Denomination: Protestant
He was baptised at Kaliro in 1908 and later worked as omusomesa in the Gadumire (Bulamogi county) area. In the 1920s he was formally trained as omusizi or school teacher and he later went to Mukono where he trained as a catechist. He worked as a catechist until 1960 when he retired.
Formal interview at his home at Bulago (Bulamogi county) 20 October 1971.

13 Mukwajanga, Petero
Born: 1890
Occupation: Retired catechist, now a peasant
Denomination: Catholic
He was baptised in 1911 by "Pere Kide" or Fr. Kiggen at Budini. He later worked as a catechist in north-east Bulamogi and Bugabula county. He has lost his eyesight and there were indications that his memory was deteriorating rapidly.
Formal interview at his home at Gadumire (Bulamogi county) 24 February 1972.

14 Mukwatandeku, Eriya
Born: 1894
Occupation: Retired Gombolola chief, now a peasant
Denomination: Protestant
At the age of ten Rev. Allen Wilson baptised him at Kamuli. In 1907 he obtained a clerical job at the Kigulu saza headquarters where he worked until 1915 when he was appointed a Muluka chief. Five years later he was appointed a Gombolola chief of Nsize - a post he held until his dismissal in 1940. He helped the African Greek Orthodox Church to get established at Nsinze and was a member of the Y.B.A.
Formal interview at his home at Nakirulwe (Kigulu county) 23 March 1972.

15 Mulamba, Erifazi
Born: 1896
Occupation: Retired catechist, now too weak to work
Denomination: Protestant
He was baptised in 1906 at Iganga and he started to work as a catechist the following year; he later received formal training at Iganga catechists school. He worked in various places in Busoga and he still remembers a great deal of information concerning, in particular, the problems which the early catechists had to contend with. He retired in 1961.
Formal interview at his home at Ivunamba (Butembe county) 7 November 1971.

16 Mulisi, Nzimuli
Born: 1912
Occupation: Catechist
Denomination: Catholic
Mulisi was baptised in 1923. He was taught reading by a Protestant friend, Andereya Wandera and was among the first students who attended the normal school which had just

opened (1930) at Iganga. Two years later he graduated with a grade "C" certificate. He worked at Namato (Busiki) but in 1934 he was transferred to Iganga where he still works as a catechist. He is well-informed on the catechist-chief relationship.
Formal interview at his home at Igenge (Kigulu county) 6 October 1971.

17 Musenze, Yona
Born: 1894
Occupation: Peasant
Denomination: Protestant
In spite of his age he was baptised in 1969. He travelled widely in Bukedi and Kenya. Although he was not well-informed on the development of Christianity in Busoga he provided some useful information on the Basogas' traditional religion.
Formal interview at his home at Kasedhere (Busiki county) 26 March 1972.

18 Musowoko, Matayo
Born: 1911
Occupation: Catechist
Denomination: Malaki (KOAB)
He joined KOAB in 1927. He first worked as a catechist at Kidiki (Bugabula) but in 1936 he was transferred to Busalamu (Luwuka) where he still works. In 1939 he was imprisoned for four months on the grounds that he obstructed government policy. He is well-acquainted with KOAB's problems in Busoga.
Formal interview at his home at Busalamu (Luwuka county) 24 March 1972.

19 Mutaka, Yafesi
Born: 1906
Occupation: Retired catechist, still works in the Church on a voluntary basis.
Denomination: Protestant
Nuwa Ereemye, Mutaka's father, was a Christian although he was married to three wives. Mutaka was baptised by Rev. Eriya Mukasa (a Muganda) at Kaliro in 1915. He went to Kaliro Central School for five years at the end of which he was admitted at Mukono to train as a catechist. He served as a catechist for thirty-five years before he retired in 1965. He had some interesting information on the CMS' work in Bulamogi, particularly during the early (pre-war) period.
Formal interview at his home at Budini on 16 October 1971.

20 Mutaka, Eseri (Mrs)
Born: 1905
Occupation: Housewife
Denomination: Protestant
When she was ten years old, her father took her to live with the Mukasas (Rev. Eriya Mukasa). She started okusoma and was baptised in 1916; later she joined the women teachers' class at Iganga and after 2½ years, she graduated as omusizi. She taught mainly in the Kaliro area. She is very fluent and certainly enjoys talking.
Formal interview at her home at Budini on 16 October 1971.

21 Mutaka, Yeremiya
Born: 1910
Occupation: Retired catechist, now a peasant
Denomination: Catholic
He started okusoma when he was fourteen years old. He was baptised in 1927 and had three years' formal education before he joined the normal school at Iganga in 1931. He dropped out of the normal school at the end of the first term. He began working as a catechist until 1952 when he resigned following a pay dispute with the European missionaries at Budini. He is intelligent and precise.
Formal interview at his home at Nawandala (Kigulu county) 20 November 1971.

22 Muwumba, Tito
Born: 1900
Occupation: Retired Gombolola chief, now a peasant
Denomination: Catholic
His father, Mudambadha, who was a ruler of a small state in the pre-colonial period, had been "converted" to Catholicism at the beginning of this century. He took Muwumba to Budini (1916) where he lived with the European missionaries for the next three years. The missionaries, who wanted Muwumba to become a priest, sent him to school at Nsambya (Buganda). After six years, he dropped out of school and held different types of jobs (including a clerical job in the D.C's office) until 1944 when he was appointed a Gombolola chief. He was shortly dismissed on the grounds of incompetence.
Formal interview at his home at Itanda (Kigulu county) on 20 November 1971.

23 Mwandha, Samwiri (Canon)
Born: 1896
Occupation: Retired rural dean
Denomination: Protestant
Although his parents were not Christians, he decided in 1913 to begin okusoma. He was baptised the following year and immediately began working as a catechist; later he took formal training alternating with practical work. In 1931 he was ordained a deacon and served in various parts of Busoga before he was appointed assistant rural dean of Kamuli area (north Busoga) in 1941. He served in the same area until his retirement in the early 1960s. He still visits and works in the Churches in his neighbourhood on a voluntary basis. He has sound knowledge on the development of the Church in north Busoga.
Formal interview at his home at Kirerema (Busiki county) 27 March 1972.

24 Mwavu, Miriamu (Mrs)
Born: 1913
Occupation: Housewife and Preacher
Denomination: Protestant
Her father, Yokaha Wakibi, was a Christian and a catechist. In 1909 her parents died of sleeping sickness. Miriamu was adopted by Wabuleta (who was the first Musoga to be ordained) who took her to school at Iganga. In 1929 she went to Gayaza to train as a grade "A" school teacher. While teaching at Iganga, she became saved (Mulokole) in 1937. Four years later, she married Mika Mwavu. She is very impressive and she provided some useful information about the role of the Basoga women in Church development.
Formal interview at her home at Iwawu (near Iganga) on 17 September 1971.

25 Mwavu, Mika
Born: 1912
Occupation: Preacher or Evangelist
Denomination: Protestant
His father, Lazalo Lubaale, was a Christian. As a young man, Mwavu was taken to Rev. Eriya Mukasa's home where he lived until 1934 when he had to go to Mukono to be trained as a grade "A" schoolmaster. While at Mukono he became a Mulokole; two years later he graduated from Mukono but decided to go back there (1941) to be trained for ordination. He never finished the course as he and many others (Balokole) were expelled from the Theological College at Mukono. He subsequently became an Evangelist and is the best authority on the Balokole movement in Busoga. Formal interview at his home at Iwawu on 2 October 1971.

26 Nabikamba, Zefaniya
Born: 1890
Occupation: Retired Saza chief
Denomination: Protestant
Nabikamba's father, Mwanga, was the Saza chief of Bugweri between 1906 and 1919. Nabikamba was baptised in 1904 and studied in Mengo and Budo. In 1912 he accompanied Bishop Willis who was touring the eastern province. In the same year he started working as an interpreter in the D.C's office. In 1915 he was appointed a Gombolola chief and five years later was promoted to the position of Saza chief, a position he held until he retired in 1956. He was very well-informed and he enjoyed talking, particularly about the early history of the Christian Church in Busoga.
I had two formal interviews with him at his homes:
(i) at Busanda (Luwuka county) on 21 November 1971,
(ii) at Kituto (Luwuka county) on 8 March 1972.
Nabikamba died early this year (1973).

27 Nabongo, Erieza
Born: 1901
Occupation: Retired school teacher, now a peasant
Denomination: Protestant
He was baptised in 1911 at Iganga and later worked as a catechist in the Bukoli area. In the 1930s he trained as a school teacher. He retired in 1964. He provided some useful information on the catechist-school teacher relationship in the 1930s.
Formal interview at his home at Kibale (Busiki county) on 14 November 1971.

28 Nabugere, Sira
Born: 1898
Occupation: Catechist
Denomination: Protestant
His father, Isaka Kalangwa, was both a Christain and a polygamist. Nabugere was baptised at Kaliro in 1910 and started working as a catechist. Later (1919) he received formal training at the Theological College at Mukono. He worked in various places in Bukoli, Busiki and Bulamogi counties. He still works as a catechist at Kaliro (Bulamogi county). He has an excellent memory.
I had two interviews with him at his home at Kaliro:
(i) on 20 October 1971,
(ii) on 17 November 1971.

29 Naku, Yozefu
Born: 1911
Occupation: Retired catechist and school teacher, now a peasant
Denomination: Catholic
His parents were Catholics and this enabled him to have a "Christian" up-bringing. He was a student at the catechist school at Nazigo. The school was transferred to Nsambya where, in 1930, he graduated as a grade "A" teacher. He joined the staff of the newly opened teachers' school at Iganga in 1931. When the school was transferred to Namagunga in 1937, Naku, who is a Muganda, remained at Iganga where he worked as a catechist until the 1960s when he retired. He still lives at Iganga. Initially he was a very suspicious informant but gradually he became more open and provided some helpful information on the working relationship between the catechists and the European missionaries.
Formal interview at his home at Bukoyo (Iganga) on 28 September 1971.

30 Ndansiru, Bulayimu
Born: 1897
Occupation: Peasant
Denomination: Originally Protestant, now a Muslim
He was baptised by Rev. Yoswa Kiwavu at Kamuli in 1911. He worked as a catechist at Buwongo (Busiki county) for three years. He gave up his catechist's job and became a clerk in a private firm where he could earn more money. In the 1930s he became a Muslim because he wanted to marry a second wife.
Formal interview at Mr. Musulube's home at Iganga on 19 September 1971.

31 Ndhaye, Isaya
Born: 1902
Occupation: Retired school teacher, now a peasant
Denomination: Catholic
He was baptised at Iganga in 1912, and began working as a catechist in Kigulu county. Later he received formal training at Iganga and after graduating (1933) he taught in the Kidiki (Bugabula) area until 1965 when he retired. He enjoys talking.
Formal interview at his home at Bukova (Luwuka) on 5 December 1971.

32 Nkobera, Kezekiya
Born: 1890
Occupation: Retired catechist, still works on a voluntary basis
Denomination: Protestant
For most of his working life he has worked as a catechist in Bulamogi. He was, however, a member of the Anglican Synod between 1917 and 1959. In 1938 he was elected the first Chairman of the catechists lukiiko and was also a member of the ruridecanal council for many years. He was at times difficult to understand but he has a clear and accurate memory.
I had two interviews with him at his home at Buluya:
(i) on 7 March 1972
(ii) on 14 March 1972.

33 Pasha (Rev.)
Born: 1887
Occupation: Missionary and teacher
Denomination: Orthodox Church (AGOC)
Originally a Protestant but in 1928 he changed and became a follower of AGOC. In 1936 he went to Busoga as a missionary; he founded the Nsinze station where he still works as a missionary and a teacher. He is a man of remarkable character and he is the authority on the activities of AGOC in Busoga.
Formal interview at his home at Nsinze on 27 March 1972.

34 Tenywa, Ezekieri - see pages 23-24.

35 Waibale, Yokana (Canon)
Born: 1907
Occupation: Retired Archdeacon, now a pastoral clergyman
Denomination: Protestant
His father, Zakaliya Sabakaki, was a Christian and a Katikiro (in charge of) Church land. Waibale was baptised in 1908. He was educated at the Balangira High School, Kamuli and later went to Budo, graduating in 1930. He returned to Kamuli where he began to work as aschool teacher. Bishop Willis encouraged him to become a clergyman and he was ordained in 1937. He worked in Jinja, Namutumba, and Kaliro before he went to Britain on a study tour in 1952. In 1954 he was appointed rural dean and twelve years later he became the Archdeacon of Busoga. Intelligent and well-informed.
Formal interview at Rev. Isabirye's home at Namutumba on 11 March 1972.

36 Walabyeki, Gusto
Born: 1885
Occupation: Retired catechist
Denomination: Catholic
A Muganda catechist who arrived in Busoga in 1911. He worked very closely with the European missionaries at Budini where he was a head catechist for forty-nine years. His memory was still sound although his eyesight was failing. He died late 1972.
Formal interview at his home at Budini on 26 December 1971.

37 Walwa, Eridadi
Born: 1898
Occupation: Retired catechist, now a peasant
Denomination: Protestant
He was baptised in 1906 at Jinja and worked as a catechist for ten years before he went to Mukono where he received formal training. He later worked in the Budondo (Butembe county) area before his retirement in 1965. He is talkative and has a fair knowledge of the developments in the Church in Busoga particularly during the inter-war period.
Formal interview at his home at Kivubuka (Butembe county) 29 March 1972.

(2) Archival Sources

(a) Unpublished (Non-official)

England

(i) Church Missionary Society (Anglican)

The CMS preserves a valuable collection of missionary letters and journals. All the correspondence between Uganda and London in the Series G3, A5 (about 1890-1899) and G3, A7 (about 1899-1922) was read. During the initial and, often difficult period, the missionary letters from Busoga were detailed and they provided some helpful information about Busoga in the pre-colonial period and the Basoga's reaction to the missionary invasion. Also considerable light was thrown on missionary policy during the period, 1890-1922. Although one would not find extensive information on the African church workers, the correspondence is indispensable in the reconstruction of the history of the Anglican Church in Busoga.

(ii) Mill Hill, North London (Roman Catholic)

The Mill Hill Archives have been opened to researchers recently. The records preserved in the archives include several station diaries and copies of official letters most of which are still legible although they were hand-written. The diaries which were used included the following:

1. Diary of Bukaleba Mission, later became Diary of Jinja Mission 1900-1905. This gives some indication about what was happening in the missionary district and provides some useful information on the missionary - chief relationship.

2. Diaries of Budaka Mission 1901 - 1903; 1903 - 1905; 1904 - 1905; 1905 - 192
   These diaries were not read systematically since they were only marginally relevant to my research project.

3. Diary of Nsambya Mission 1895 - 1898. Kept by Fr. Matthews, has information about the struggling new mission; has notes on some catechumenates at the end of the book.

4. Diaries of Kampala; from diary IV to XII covering the period August 1901 to October 1902. The diaries have some information on the general development of the mission.

Copies of Letters 1903 - 1915

A majority of these letters are official letters between the Uganda government and the MHM. Some of the correspondence, however, between Nsambya and the MHM Stations scattered in eastern Uganda. The issues discussed in these letters range from education policy in the 1910s to the kind of wine which had to be used for Holy Communion.

There is also a large manuscript, Some Notes on the Apostolic Vicariate of the Upper Nile 1895 - 1945, written by Fr.E. Grimshaw.
The MSS is in two parts. The first part which narrates the history of the MHM in Uganda has also an interesting account of the life and duties of the missionaries. Further it gives valuable information on the development of the African ministry. It is the first part which was relevant to my work. The second part, which narrates the history of the Apostolic Vicariate of Kisumu, followed by some ethnological accounts of various peoples (Baganda, Islanders, Basoga, Japadhola, Langi etc.) was not read systematically.

(iii) St.Mary's Abbey, Mill Hill

Although the Abbey sent many Franciscan Sisters to Uganda, they do not seem to have kept any records. Also the Sisters who went to Uganda do not seem to have written any letters to the Mother House. However, the Abbey keeps:

1. A Diary July 1868 - September 1921 in which bits of information about the Sisters, who went to Uganda, can be found.

2. Mother Mary Paul, a typescript by Mother Paul who was the leader of the first group of the Franciscan Sisters who went to Uganda in 1903. About 2/3 of the TS describes the preparation and journey to Uganda. Although it has a section on the Franciscan Sisters in Uganda(up to 1910, when Mother Paul was recalled) it is not a very useful historical source.

UGANDA

(iv) Bishop's house Archives, Jinja (Roman Catholic)

The records one finds here are mainly concerned with the Jinja diocese. These records, which number about 1000 files, have been divided into Old and New Records. The division is, however, unimportant since it is not clear when one division ends and another begins. Within those two divisions, the records are arranged according to Topics. The records I used were as follows:

1. Reports 1899 - 1954.
These include the "Sacred Returns" which provided some useful statistical information. Secondly, and more

important, one finds here the "written reports", written by the Superiors of various missionary stations on a half-yearly basis. Some of these reports were detailed and they provided valuable information on the problems of maintaining a growing mission. The contribution of the chiefs and catechists to church growth is alluded to in these reports, but I did not come across any report which discussed their contribution at length. Indeed many of the reports written in the 1910s condemned the catechists for their alleged incompetence and inability to perform their duties.

2. Missions 1894 - 1919
Missions 1920 - 1947
Under missions one finds some useful correspondence between the missionary districts and Nsambya (the bishop). These help to illuminate some missionary problems and church development at the local level. There is also correspondence between the various mission stations in Busoga and the government at Jinja. The issues which are discussed range from the government's policy on the appointment of chiefs to the Christian practice of boycotting Mohammedan butchers.

3. Lawyers
Under Lawyers, I found some information about the "Little Sisters". The first costitution of the "Little Sisters" and its subsequent amendments were not read systematically because they were only marginally important to my work.

4. Marriage Cases 1896 - 1954
The main value of these records was that they helped to indicate the social tension within the Christian community in Busoga.

5. Deanery Meetings
The minutes of various Busoga Deanery meetings are preserved. These minutes provided a mass of valuable information, particularly with regard to missionary policy, changes and new missionary projects.

6. Land 1902 - 1955
There is some considerable correspondence between the government (Entebbe) and Nsambya on land. A bundle of certificates of ownership of land is also kept here. I did not have enough time to examine these particular records in detail.

v The Church of Uganda Archives

When I arrived in Uganda (July 1971), I learned that the Church of Uganda records had been moved to Makerere library. Although the librarian admitted that he had received these records, he failed to trace them in the library. He was, however, able to trace Rev.Baskerville's Journal which contains some valuable information on Busoga particularly during the period 1891 - 1901. Admittedly this experience was very frustrating but I discovered some material in the pastorate, busumba archives which more than compensated for the "lost " records.

vi Iganga busumba

The records from the Jinja busumba have been moved to Iganga. The records which were used included the following:

1. Ekitabo kyo Lukiiko lwe Iganga 1902 - 1926
   Minute book 1902 - 1926.

2. Ekyabafumbo 1900 - 1927
   Marriage Register 1900-1927

3. Church Missionary Society: Jinja. Ekitabo ky'ebitesebwa Olukiiko lwe Gwanga 1936 - 1945
   Ruridecanal Council minute book 1936 - 1945.

4. Ekitabo kyo Lukiiko olwo Muluka NAC Iganga 1937 - 1939
   Iganga parish minute book 1937 - 1939.

vii Kaliro busumba

1. Ekitabo kyo Lukiiko, Kaliro 1914 - 1930
   Kaliro minute book 1914 - 1930

2. Ekyabafumbo 1908 - 1923
   Marriage register 1908 - 1923.

3. Ekyababatize 1907 - 1920
   Baptism register 1907 - 1920.

The contribution which these records made to my work has been discussed under "Methodology and Field Experiences".

(b) Unpublished (Official)
ENGLAND

(i) Public Record Office

Some of the material in the FO/2 series were read primarily as background material to the development of Busoga's history

during the early colonial period. However, detailed study of these records was not made nor were the records in the CO/536 series, which deal with the period after 1905, examined. This was because most of the correspondence between Uganda and the Foreign or Colonial Office is duplicated in the Entebbe Archives. I decided that Entebbe would be a more convenient place to study this correspondence since the Archives there are not used by many people at any given time. Moreover, the reading room there is quieter than the Public record office.

UGANDA

(ii) Entebbe Government Archives

Some of the correspondence between Entebbe and London in the series A35, A38, A36, A39 was read. But my interest was centred on the internal correspondence which may be divided into two parts.

1. Correspondence between the missionary societies and Entebbe.
   The correspondence between the CMS (Namirembe) and Entebbe, which I read for the period 1900 - 1906 is found in the series A22 and A23 "In" and "Out" respectively. The Mohammedan threat in Busoga is one of the issues which are discussed extensively in this correspondence.
   The correspondence, for the same period (1900 - 1906), between Entebbe and the MHM (Nsambya) is found in the Series A25 "In" and "Out". The government's policy on mission land and the appointment of chiefs in Busoga are some of the issues discussed in this correspondence. After 1906 most of the missionary correspondence which I was able to examine was filed under the general SMP classification. For example, "Church Lands and Other Questions, SMP 5368/18".

2. Official Correspondence between Busoga or the Eastern Province and Entebbe.
   The files in the series A10 "In" and "Out" for the period 1900 - 1906 were read. These records provided considerable information on the political and religious developments in Busoga during this period. After 1906 the correspondence which I read came under the general SMP classification. For example, "Changes in the Native Administration, Busoga SMP 952/07". This correspondence which includes the D.C.'s monthly reports further

illuminated the developments, political, social, religious and economic, which were taking place in Busoga before and after the First World War.

(iii) District Commissioner's Archives, Jinja.

Although I was aware that the early files in Jinja Archives had been destroyed by an out-going British Officer, I decided to visit the Archives to check if there were any useful records left there. There is no official Archivist at Jinja and whatever records have been left are not catalogued, sorted or even arranged neatly on the shelves. Therefore, the approach one takes i s to examine various files until one finds some relevant records. Through this tedious process, I discovered and used the following files:

1. N.13/L/M on "Native Administration and Lukiiko Meetings" Some correspondence between the Busoga Lukiiko and the D.C.'s office (1930s) is filed here.

2. L/9/G on "labour". Also L/9/L/C. Correspondence between the D.C.'s office and various chiefs, on the problem of labour shortage in Busoga during the inter-war period, is kept in these files.

3. "Miscellaneous, Native Associations". Correspondence between the D.C.'s office and the various groups of people who wanted to form associations in the inter-war period, is found here. Also the associations which were formed eventually and their objectives are clearly outlined.

4. 22/164 on "Native Administration" (General). The correspondence in the file gives some idea of the pressure which some of the associations were increasingly putting on the D.C. and the Busoga Lukiiko as they demanded equal (equal to the Protestants) political opportunities.

iv Busoga Local Government Archives, Bugembe .

The man in charge of the Archives informed me that it was their policy to destroy all the records whenever these were twenty years old. The records I found here dated from the 1950s and were not relevant to my work.

(3) Missionary Publications

(i) The CMS published lengthy extracts from missionary letters and diaries in the following periodicals:

1. The Church Missionary Intelligencer was published from about 1849 to 1906 when its title was changed to become the Church Missionary Review. In 1927, the CMR was also changed [illegible] and it became The Church Overseas

which, in turn, was changed (1934) to East and West Review. It was however, the CMI and, to some extent, the CMR which carried a mass of helpful articles particularly with regard to the initial missionary experiences in Busoga.

2. The Proceedings of the CMS was published throughout the last part of the 19th century until 1919. "The Proceedings" further illuminated the developments in the missionary fields in Busoga and the rest of Uganda, and it also provided some useful statistical information. Although "The Proceedings" could not be published after the war due to financial difficulties, missionary information of historical interest has been preserved in typed form under the title Historical Records or CMS Annual Reports. However, the CMS continued (1920 onwards) to publish the statistical information under the title, CMS Reports, and after 1924, CMS Report and Lists.

3. CMS Annual Letters. Long extracts from the Annual letters of the missionaries were also published. In 1910 - 1913 these letters were published under the title Letters from the Front. The publications were not continued after the war. The value of these letters is that they give detailed accounts of the developments in each missionary district in Busoga.

4. The CMS Gazette. This was published from 1905 until the 1920s. The Gazette was not very helpful since it duplicated many of the articles which were published either under 1, 2 or 3 above.

5. Register of Missionaries and Native Clergy 1804 - 1904
This was printed for private circulation.

6. The Islingtonian 1898 - 1912
This magazine was published by the CMS Theological College at Islington. Photographs of out-going missionaries and some brief accounts about them were recorded here.

7. In Uganda the CMS published a local magazine, Mengo Notes in 1900. But in 1902 it became the Uganda Notes, which in turn, became (1913) the Diocesan Gazette.

All the relevant articles in Mengo and Uganda Notes were read. However, the Uganda Gazette which is thinner, does not carry articles of historical interest.

8. The local CMS also published in 1907 a monthly Luganda magazine, Ebifa mu Buganda (The news in Buganda). In 1934, the title was changed to Ebifa mu Uganda. Some of the Baganda missionaries in Busoga, the Basoga chiefs, catechists and clergymen contributed articles to this magazine. All the relevant articles in Ebifa 1907 - 1939 were read.

(ii) Roman Catholic publications. The most important publication which was extensively used is the

1. St.Joseph's Advocate, which was published three times a year by the MHM. The SJA, which is preserved in the St.Joseph's College library (Mill Hill) is also available in the British Museum library. As the SJA is mainly a collection of missionary letters, the magazine provided a mass of valuable information on Church growth and expansion at the local level (1895 - 1939).

2. Chronique Trimestrielle. no. 53, p. 102 - 111, was read. Also the diary, Notre-Dame de L'Espérance 1891 in Chronique Trimestrielle. no. 54, p. 232 - 235, was examined. Lastly Diaire de Sainte de Rubaga in Chronique Trimestrielle. no. 52, p. 778 - 779 was read. These diaries provided some substantial information on the WF mission in Busoga in 1891.

3. In 1911 the Roman Catholics in Uganda started publishing a local Luganda magazine called Munno (friend). Munno was not as helpful as I had hoped.

Lastly several issues of the International Review of Missions published by the International Missionary Council, were also read.

(4.) Government Publications. The following publications were read.

1. Confidential Prints, mainly in box 39 at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies London.

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APPENDIX D. Two of the Interviews which have been quoted, now and then, as evidence in this study.

Interview I, Yeremiya Mutaka.

Interview II, Mika Mwavu.

Interview. I.

Informant, Yeremiya Mutaka
Denomination, Catholic.
Mutaka was interviewed at his house at Nawandala on 20th November 1971.

Were your parents Christians?
No, both my father and mother were bakafiri (non-Christians). My father, like many other men in his days, was married to three wives. This made it impossible for him to become a Christian since the abasomesa did not welcome polygamists.

If your parents were not Christians, how did you get interested in Christianity?
As a young man, I gradually realized that my position would not change if I did not go to Okusoma. I used to see that my agemates who had been baptized were better off in every respect than I was. It was these people who provided the incentive. I also decided to go to Okusoma in order to look like them. Indeed my parents also encouraged me to become a Christian because they wanted me to have a bright future. I started Okusoma at the little village Church. In 1926 my omusomesa sent me to Budini where I was baptized in August. Three years later I went back to Budini and the European missionaries asked me if I wanted to work as a catechist. I accepted the offer and I was posted at Inula.

What was your initial experience like on a new job and in a new place?
I discovered that teaching was a very difficult job; my pupils were very slow at learning anything. This frustrated me considerably. My second problem at Inula was poor communications. There was a small stream between my house and the little village Church where I worked. Whenever it rained, the small bridge over the stream was swept down-stream and a new bridge would not be built for several weeks and for those weeks I would be separated from my Church and some of my catechumens. I was so frustrated that I asked the European missionaries to transfer me to another place. I was posted at Bugambo (Luwuka County) where a small Church had been built recently. At Bugambo, I did not have any major problems until I got married.

I got married in 1939 and my bakoirume (relatives of his wife) lived in the neighbourhood. The bakoirume used to visit me regularly which turned out to be very expensive on my part. What is more, whatever I did or said was soon communicated to my bakoirume. I realised that it was necessary for me to move to a distant part of the country to save my marriage from breaking up. Again I asked the Abakulu[1] to transfer me. They posted me at Bukova (Luwuka county).

Bukova was an important place. It was called a "Centre". This was because all the little village churches in the area sent their baptism candidates there to complete their preparation for baptism; those who passed their tests at the "Centre" were sent to Budini to be baptised without any further training. Before the establishment of "Centres" like Bukova, all the preparation for baptism was done by the Abakulu at Budini. We used to spend two months at Budini and lack of proper accommodation was a major problem. The girls had accommodation provided for them but the boys had to find their own accommodation. This was not an easy thing to do. If one had no relatives in the neighbourhood, one had to ask strangers to provide lodgings for one or two months. If one was offered the accommodation, one, in return, worked every morning (except on Sundays) in the garden of one's "landlord".

This arrangement had several disadvantages. First those who were lucky to be accommodated were often exploited as the "landlord" tried to get as much out of their "tenants" as was humanly possible. Further the small boys - I was lucky I was a big boy when I went through this - found it very difficult to find any "landlords" who were willing to offer them accommodation. This was because they were considered weak and would not therefore be very helpful when it came to working in the garden. As a result of these difficulties many of the baptism candidates used to leave before they were baptised.

Did you, as a catechist, receive any assistance from the local chiefs?

I used to get a lot of help from the chiefs. This was particularly noticeable when the Abakulu were

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1. Abakulu means important people or elders; here he means the European missionaries.

visiting my area. What I had to do was to tell the Chiefs about the Abakulu's arrival and the Chiefs made all the necessary preparations to receive them. For example, they often had a temporary shelter erected, dug a pit-latrine, provided the food and other forms of entertainment. It was the responsibility of the Chiefs to entertain and to look after the Abakulu for as long as they were visiting any particular area.

How long did a typical visit of the Abakulu last?
About four days. It was common for the "Centre" to be used as a base. From the "Centre" the Abakulu and I would visit the little village Churches (about ten under my care) in my area.

Why did the Abakulu visit the small Churches?
What did they do when they got there?
On such a visit, the omukulu (singular) would meet and address a gathering of the local people. He would urge them to send their children to the little village Church where they would be taught reading (okusoma). Lastly he would remind them that if there was a high demand for education in their area, he would see to it that a permanent proper school was built there.

How often did the Abakulu visit you?
About three times a year. For example, they used to come in February; their main purpose was to collect endobolo. Every Roman Catholic paid two to five shillings every year in support of the Church. Our pay, for example, was raised by this endobolo system. The monthly pay was very small. For example, in three months, I used to receive twelve shillings. I could not live on this meagre salary. So I supplemented it by growing cotton and groundnuts.

The Abakulu would pay their second visit in May. Their main purpose then was to see how the work was progressing; to advise and encourage the abasomesa. The third visit, which used to occur in August, provided the Abakulu with another chance to see our work and to collect the rest of the endobolo for that year.

Since you only had occasional visits from the Abakulu, did you always have to make your own decisions?
If there was any emergency, say, a non-Christian was suddenly taken ill and he wished to be baptized before he died, a catechist could baptize him. Generally, however our problems and complaints were discussed in the monthly catechists' meeting at Budini. The monthly meeting was compulsory for every omusomesa in the district.

Who Chaired these meetings?
We had somebody called Omukulu Wabasomesa (head catechist); he used to chair a preliminary meeting in which the agenda was discussed. Later the "real" meeting, which was chaired by the Superior of the Mission, was convened.

Can you remember any of the issues or topics which were generally discussed during these meetings?
The behaviour of our Christians was often discussed, because there was always a general feeling that the Christians fell short of the required "Christian morals". We, therefore, used these meetings to discuss ways of promoting "Christian morals". Further we often discussed our strategy and approach to evangelization work. Personal problems were also, occasionally, discussed in these meetings. For example, if one was not getting on well with one's Congregation, one could present this problem to the meeting. The meeting would attempt to discover the cause of the problem and would give some advice. Also the Superior of the Mission would write a letter to the Gombolola chief of the area asking for his help. The Gombolala Chief in turn, would read the letter to the Congregation and would urge the Congregation to co-operate with their omusomesa. This approach was usually helpful.

I have told you before that our salaries were very small. There was always a crisis when one wanted to get married. Most of the Abasomesa could not raise the bride-wealth which was always demanded by the parents of the girls. For Omusomesa the bride-wealth was artificially raised because it was wrongly assumed that the Abasomesa were quite wealthy. These monthly meetings were therefore, used by individuals to voice their need to borrow money from the Abakulu in order to pay the bride-wealth. However, this practice was increasingly discouraged because the Abakulu had discovered that some of the Abasomesa had not, in fact, paid their bride-wealth but had instead spent the money recklessly.

Did you consider the idea of monthly meetings a good one, a bad one or an inconvenience?
I think the idea of meeting on a monthly basis was a good one because the meetings brought both the Abakulu and the abasomesa together. We gave a monthly report of our work to the Abakulu who, in turn, gave us advice and new instructions with regard to the method and approach of our task. Further by visiting the missionary station monthly, we were able to collect the stationery which our pupils used in the little village schools under our care. Lastly it was always good to meet my

old friends and colleagues every month. This gave us the opportunity to talk about our work; our families; our problems and experiences.

How would you sum up your responsibilities?
I have already indicated that as a "Centre" catechist I had to prepare my catechumens for baptism. I also looked after my small Congregation, led the Sunday services, taught in my little school and supervised about a dozen little village Churches in my area. We were also expected to increase the membership of our Congregations by making new converts. In the 1940's, the number of baptism candidates was declining. This was because many of the children who previously had come to us, were then going to the secular schools, which were better equipped and, certainly had a better reputation than we did. However, the Abakulu were so anxious to keep the number of the baptism candidates rising that they decided that we (abasomesa) would be paid according to the number of people we sent to Budini to be baptized. For each baptism candidate one sent to Budini, one would be paid three shillings.

This new arrangement was extremely inconvenient for us. First we had very little left that would attract the young men and women to our little village schools. Secondly, and more important, it took us about one year to prepare a baptism candidate. By the end of the year, most of those who started the course, would have dropped out. This left one with four or five candidates to send to Budini at the end of the year. It was then that one earned one's twelve or fifteen shillings a year. I personally complained to the Abakulu about this, but they said that if I worked harder and sent them more baptism candidates, I would earn more money. As I told you before, it was becoming increasingly difficult to get baptism candidates. I felt that the Abakulu were not trying to understand our position and to appreciate our difficulties. Therefore, I resigned my job in 1952.

What have you been doing since you left your job?
Nothing very much. I came back here (Nawandala) in my ekibandha (land) built a house in which my family and I still live.

What is your source of income?
As you can see I do not have an office here, but I earn enough money, to support my family, by growing cotton.

Have you ever regretted the decision you made to give up your job?

No, although I am still a poor man, I am not working like a slave. What I mean is that as Omusomesa I was doing a difficult job for little or no pay at all. Hence my claim that I was working like a slave. However, I do not hate the Church, I have remained a Catholic and occasionally I go to attend the Mass on Sundays.

What else does being a Catholic mean to You?
It means that I should observe the "Christian morals". For example, I have not married a second wife since doing so, would violate the "Christian morals". Further I do not worship emizimu in my home.

Interview II

Informant: Mika Mwavu
Denomination: Protestant

Mwavu was interviewed at his home at Iwawu near Iganga on 2 October 1971.

Can you tell me what you remember about your father's background?

My father's name was Lazalo Katwekambwa. Originally he was called Lazalo Lubaqle, however, the Baganda he lived with named him Katwekambwa because he was alert and intelligent.

Who were the Baganda you have just mentioned?

Initially they were traders but some of them were later appointed chiefs by the British. Serwano Twasenga, for example, became the Saza chief in Bulamogi. Twasenga who had discovered that my father was literate employed the latter as his tax collector. My father had become a Christian at the beginning of the century and how hedid it always fascinated me.

My father was a page in Mudoola's ekisagati in Luwuka when the abasomesa visited Mudoola and asked him to allow the children in his ekisagati to start okusoma at the village Church which was also used as the village school. My father started attending the little school regularly. When his parents learned of this, they tried to stop him. This was because he had been dedicated to serve the omusambwa, Lubaale, when he grew up. When he was born, my father had several teeth in his lower gum, thus indicating that Lubaale had chosen him to be his servant. It was, therefore, feared that if he became a Christian, Lubaale would be angered and would subsequently destroy the entire family. My father, who did not share these fears with his parents, continued with his okusoma until he was baptised.

Do you remember the exact year in which he was baptised?

No, but I remember that it was the Rev. Allen Wilson who baptised him.

Was your father a polygamist?

Yes, he was married to three wives. However when he wanted to have a Christian marriage he sent away, as the regulations

required, two of his wives. As soon as the marriage ceremony was completed, he brought back the two wives and he was a polygamist again.

Was this practice widespread?

Yes it was. However, I do not blame my father for acting as he did. I think the abasomesa should bear the blame because they do not seem to have explained to the people what expulsion of the extra wives really meant and the form it had to take. It seems that most of the Basoga thought that the expulsion of the wives had to be a temporary affair and that one could live with other wives after one's marriage in the Church.

Is it possible that the Basoga Christians deliberately misinterpreted the Church regulations in order to satisfy their own tastes?

It is possible and I think some Christians did just that. But I still insist that the abasomesa also failed to explain to the people why it was necessary for a Christian to marry only one wife.

Was there any difference between the Christians and the non-Christians?

I have heard various people claiming that there is no difference between the Christians and the non-Christians. I do not accept this view. If you take again my father's example, his parents objected to his becoming a Christian because they realised that he would be different from them; he would not, for example, practise traditional religion. This was, I think, one of the fundamental differences between the Christians and the non-Christians. When I was born, my father did not perform some of the traditional rituals e.g. the okugulika ritual (a simple ceremony performed before the naming of a baby) was omitted and I was later told that my father did this because it was not in line with Christian teaching.

If there were clan rituals to be performed, would your father, as a Christian, take part?

Yes he always participated in all the clan rituals. Apparently hedid this because he was under some pressure from his clanmates. I say this because in his own home he gradually stopped performing some of the traditional rituals.

Where did you go to school?

I went to Kaliro Central School. My father who was a friend of the Muganda clergyman (Eriya Mukasa) at Kaliro took me to live with Mukasa (1924) as the latter's home was near the School. Rev. Mukasa was the first African (in Busoga) to be placed in charge of the entire busumba. Originally this had been the responsibility of the European missionaries. Mukasa was also a friend of all the chiefs whom he asked to send their own children and the children in their areas to school. He also had very many children living with him. I remember when I was living there, there were over thirty other children living in Mukasa's home. Most of these children were going to school but others were being prepared to be baptised. I lived with the Mukasas for ten years before I went to Mukono in 1934 to be trained as a grade "A" schoolteacher.

How was that big household organised?

We had a kind of prefect system. One responsible boy was put in charge of the boys. The same thing was done for the girls. Secondly there was a katikiro we kanisa (responsible for Church land). If anything happened during Rev. Mukasa's absence, the matter would be dealt with by the katikiro. If the katikiro failed to settle it, he would report it to Mukasa when the latter came back. I should point out, however, that the katikiro had a lot of power and authority in Mukasa's home. The katikiro could, for example, expel someone from the home without Mukasa's knowledge. He would, however, later inform him of the action he had taken.

Accommodation caused some considerable problems. The fact that we had both grown-up boys and girls meant that we had to sleep in separate houses. All the girls and the "good boys" shared one house with the Mukasas. The rest of the boys slept in another house which stood some sixty to eighty yards from Mukasa's house.

What were your duties in the home?

Our main duty was digging. We had to grow all the food we needed for our daily consumption. We normally woke up at 5 am to go to work in the gardens. We would be back at about 7 am to prepare ourselves for school. Our other duties included washing dishes, making tea, cooking food - this was left to the girls - and collecting firewood. As we were living in a Christian home, we said our prayers daily after supper.

How did you see yourselves in relation to the boys who were not living in Mukasa's home?

We did not think ourselves special or privileged in any way. The most difficult thing in Mukasa's home was the lack of adequate food. Many of the boys in the neighbourhood were better fed. In fact we envied them; we did not despise them.

What was Rev. Mukasa like - as a person?

I think he loved God sincerely. He used to wake up every day at 4 am to go to the Church where he prayed alone. After that he awoke all of us and led the morning prayers before we went to work in the garden. He was very friendly and most of the people in the Kaliro area liked him. Mukasa loved his Church and the Basoga so much that when he retired in 1936 he did not want to go back to Buganda. I remember his clanmates visited him on several occasions and attempted to talk him into going back to Buganda. However, he resisted this pressure on the grounds that the Church he had built was in Busoga and that as a result, Busoga was his home. When he died in 1944 he was buried in the churchyard at Kaliro.

You were one of the first Basoga to become a Mulokole. Could you tell me how this came about?

There is one name I must mention first and that is Simioni Nsibambi. Nsibambi was saved (Yalokoka) by God. He influenced his brother Bulasio Kigozi to follow suit. Kigozi went to Ruanda where he met Dr. Church, a CMS missionary. Kigozi and Dr. Church worked together preaching and urging people to become Balokole. The idea soon spread from Ruanda into Uganda. In 1936, Bishop Stuart of the CMS asked Kigozi and Dr. Church to visit Mukono to speak to the students there. I was in my third year at Mukono when the Balokole visited the College. I was very impressed by what they said, particularly the biblical message "Empeera ye kibi kwekufa" (the reward of sin is death). I convinced myself that I was a sinner who needed both to be forgiven and saved. My friends who failed to understand me, laughed at me and accused me of showing off. However, this initial reaction did not discourage me. I decided to become a Mulokole then and I called on various people in the College who I had offended previously to ask for their forgiveness. Some of these people laughed at me and others thought that I was crazy. I knew that I had misbehaved on many occasions while I was living with the Mukasas. So I went to see him

and to confess my sins. To my surprise, Rev. Mukasa was displeased and, like my College friends, he accused me of showing off.

Although I had graduated in 1937 with a teacher's certificate, for the following three years I worked more like a preacher than a schoolteacher. I realised that I was in the wrong profession. Consequently, I decided to return to Mukono (1941) to be trained for ordination. My idea was that if I became a clergyman this would place me in a position where I would serve God directly. At Mukono I found a small but vocal group of Balokole. I joined that group. The Principal of the College did not like Balokole because he thought that we were making the administration of the College difficult for him.

Secondly, we had become very critical of his teaching. For example, he used to say that the Bible was written by ordinary men and that most of the stories there were not actual historical events. We (Balokole) challenged his opinion because we believed that every word in the Bible was God's word and we had no right either to doubt it, criticise it or question it. Our small group used to wake up at 5 am to pray together but the Principal ordered us to stop doing it. Further he forbade us to preach the Gospel to the other students in the College. We disobeyed his new regulations and he expelled us (twenty seven) from the College. I must admit that he gave us a chance to return to Mukono provided we promised to obey his regulations. Four people from the expelled group took advantage of that concession and went back to Mukono but the rest of us decided against going back as this would only have meant that we would have stopped being active Balokole.

When I returned to Busoga, I applied for a teaching job in the CMS schools but the rural dean, Rev. Cole, rejected my application on the grounds that I had been expelled from Mukono and was, therefore, unfit to teach in the Church schools. I was frustrated but my faith remained unshaken. So I resumed my preaching to whoever cared to listen.

How did you approach your task of preaching to the people?

Our method was simply to tell people what God had done for us and what He was prepared to do for them if they fully accepted Him. We were just a handful of Balokole then (1942). I particularly remember Mesulamu Waiswa and Aloni Isabirye. The latter was already working in the Church as a catechist. Whoever became a Mulokole joined our small band of preachers.

As we had no Church building we generally addressed the people in the public places, shopping centres, market places and on buses or trains.

Was it always true that whoever became a Mulokole also became a competent preacher?

That was always the case. When one became a Mulokole one received the mysterious power and inspiration of the Holy Spirit. This enabled one to do anything.

Supposing I had heard you preach on a bus and I declared my interest in becoming a Mulokole, how would you establish further contact with me?

I would find out your name, occupation and where you lived. Soon after that meeting on the bus, we (the small group of the Balokole) would make it a point to visit you and to introduce you to the other Balokole in the neighbourhood. These Balokole would keep in close contact with you.

How was your movement organised during this formative period?

We had no constitution if that is what you have in mind. The only important thing we did was that we used to meet at some place once a week - usually on a Saturday - to discuss our experiences and plans for the following week. Our arrangement was very simple. What we did was to decide that the following Saturday we would meet at a place X. The Balokole who lived in place X acted as the hosts to the rest of the group. This is how we operated and managed to move from one part of Busoga to another.

Who was your leader?

We did not have a leader in the proper sense of that word, but in a way, Waiswa and I could be said to have been the leaders. We decided when and where to hold our Saturday meetings. We also acted as advisers and guardians to the rest of the Balokole. Generally, however, every Mulokole was a leader. What I mean is that every Mulokole was (still is) expected to act as a responsible person and to proclaim the Gospel. It was not our intention to limit the power of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, every Mulokole was free to preach in any part of the country in any way he or she thought fit.

Did it ever occur to you that the established church leaders may not be happy with your claim to having the gift of the Holy Spirit and your practice of allowing the women to preach?

Initially the church leaders and the Basoga Christians, on the whole, disliked us because they thought that we were claiming to be a self-righteous group. Rev. Mukasa who I have mentioned before, went to the extent of expelling me and my family from the Kaliro Church land where I had built a small house. His reason for doing this was that he could not tolerate people who claimed to be better Christians than everybody else - including himself. Mukasa was not the only clergyman who disliked Balokole. There are many more who did a lot of silly things to us.

I remember once a friend of mine and I went to visit Rev. X at Kaliro; instead of welcoming us, Rev. X came out of his house carrying a big stick. He struck my companion twice and ordered us to go back to our "companions, the Balokole". On another occasion, the same clergyman, while at a dinner party given in his honour, discovered that the man sitting opposite him was a Mulokole. Rev. X walked from his seat, struck the Mulokole in the face and ordered him to leave the room. Further, many of the clergymen and catechists would not allow us to preach in the Church and sometimes some of us were barred from attending Church services in some Churches. I think many of the church leaders were hostile to us because they thought that that was the declared policy of the Church hierarchy.

How about the ordinary Christians, what was their attitude to the Balokole movement?

As I have already indicated, the Basoga Christians initially disliked us. What they particularly disliked was our idea of confessing our sins publicly. They claimed that this practice debased the value of Christianity and that a silent confession to God was all that was needed. Most of them used to ask "what is wrong with being a silent Mulokole? God will know about my confessions, after all He is the only one who can forgive sins." We believe, however, that it is important to be on good terms both with God and the people, especially those one has offended; one needs their forgiveness and should ask for it.

I think most of the Christians failed to realise that there was a marked difference between what they professed - as Christians - and what they did in real life. What the

Balokole were saying was that the Christians should live up to what they professed. Take marriage, for example. Those who had married in the Church promised to marry only one wife. However, no sooner had they married than they married a second and even a third wife. There was therefore a great deal of hyprocrisy and decline of spiritual life in our Church. We were trying to uplift the level of Christian life.

In spite of the initial hostile reaction of the CMS Church leaders, you did not secede from the Anglican Church. Why was this so?

If we had separated ourselves from the Anglican Church simply because we had been mistreated, that action would have contradicted our teaching on forgiveness and loving one's enemies. Secondly, and more important, the Balokole movement attempted mainly to raise the level of Christian life and this could only be done effectively if we remained members of the Anglican Church. If we had formed a separate church we would have lost our influence in the Anglican Church.

How did the hostility against you die out?

I think it was the work of God. With God's help, we gradually surmounted the opposition against us. Also since we remained members of the Church, the church leaders and the Basoga Christians eventually learned to live with us. Further, some of the Christians increasingly accepted our style of life, were "converted" and they joined the movement. You may be interested to know that it was not only the Christians who joined us. Some of our "converts" were non-Christians; they became Balokole before they became Christians.

Did you have any connections with the Balokole outside Busoga?

Yes we did. The Balokole form one big family of "brothers" and "sisters" or abaluganda. This means that the Balokole in Buganda, Acholi or Kigezi are related to us through Jesus Christ. This relationship is not an abstract one. It is practised.

Lastly, did your movement come under a bigger Balokole organisation?

No, the Balokole was, in a sense, a spontaneous movement and we did not need a body of administrators and organisers to formulate policy and to organise the general development of the movement. In Busoga we were part of the big family of aboluganda but we were, at the same time, a self-contained group.